00031037

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE.

SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON : PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE:

A HISTORY.

BY

SIR THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B., D.C.L.

AUTHOR OF 'THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND SINCE THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III., 1760–1871.'

31037

ac

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

TTC33

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1877.

All rights reserved.

00031037

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER X.

THE NETHERLANDS.

	PAGE
Character of the country	1
Dutch sailors	2
Early races of the Netherlands	3
Feudalism and the Church	4
Growth of cities	5
The burgomaster and the baron	9
Influence of trade guilds	13
The nobles as citizens	14
Military prowess of the towns	15
Confederation of towns, 1323	15
James Van Artevelde	16
Philip Van Artevelde	17
Guilds of the Flemish cities	17
Improved culture in the Netherlands	19
Guilds of rhetoric	19
Dutch and Flemish painters	20
The cities represented in the estates	20
Increasing power of the sovereigns	21
House of Burgundy	21
The great privilege	23
The Archduke Maximilian	24
Philip the Fair	25
The Emperor Charles V.	25
Former liberties in Spain	26
Decay of Spanish liberties	27
The Netherlands under Charles V.	28
Rebellion of Ghent	29

PAGE
Its punishment 29
The liberties of the Netherlands in abeyance 30
Fortunes of Italy and the Netherlands compared 30
Impending struggle for religious liberty 31

CHAPTER XI.

THE NETHERLANDS—*continued.*

Charles V. and the Reformation 32
Persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands 33
Religious persecution a political crime 33
Philip II. of Spain 35
Regency of the Duchess Margaret 35
William Prince of Orange 36
Spread of the Reformation 37
Severities of Philip 38
Efforts of nobles and people 39
Les Gueux 39
The Iconoclasts 40
The Duke of Alva 40
Outlawry of the Prince of Orange 43
Revolt of the Netherlands 44
Prince of Orange retires to Holland 45
Don Luis de Requesens 46
The siege of Leyden 47
Allegiance to Philip renounced 48
The 'Spanish fury' 49
Pacification of Ghent 49
New union of Brussels 51
The Prince of Parma 52
The union of Utrecht 53
Attempts to seduce the Prince of Orange 53
His excommunication by the king 54
The prince's 'apology' 54
He declines the government 54
Independence of the Provinces proclaimed 55
Attempted assassination of the prince 56
He becomes count of Holland 56
The 'French fury' 57
The prince again refuses the government 57
His assassination 57
The prince the apostle of civil and religious liberty 58
Events succeeding his death 59

PAGE
Negotiations with France 60
And with England 60
Aid given by Queen Elizabeth 61
The Spanish Armada 61
Prince Maurice 62
Decline of the Spanish power 63
Death of Philip of Spain 63
Prosperity of the republic 64
State of the Spanish provinces 65
The twelve years' truce 67
Religious toleration prayed for Catholics 67
Recognition of the republic 69
Union of freedom and commerce 69
Domestic history of the Dutch republic 71
The Stadtholder and Barneveldt 72
Wars of the republic 72
The house of Orange 73
England and Holland 74
The Perpetual edict, 1667 75
William III. ascends the English throne 76
Declining fortunes of Holland 77
Revolution proclaimed by the French in Holland 79
Constitutional monarchy, 1813 80
Separation of Belgium from Holland 81
Ultramontanism in Belgium 82
Continued freedom of the Netherlands 83

CHAPTER XII.

FRANCE.

The country and the people of France 85
The Franks and feudalism 86
Growth of the monarchy 87
Misery and discontent of the people 88
The Jacquerie 88
Stephen Marcel 89
Municipal liberties 90
States-general 92
Provincial assemblies 93
The parliaments 94
The monarchy absolute under Louis XIV. 95
Centralisation in France 96
The courts of justice 97

PAGE
The court of Louis XIV. 98
High offices monopolised by nobles 100
Sale of offices 101
Exemptions of nobles 102
Burthens upon the peasantry 102
Effects of non-residence of nobles 103
Peasant proprietors 105
The game laws 106
Burthensome taxes 107
The militia 107
Famines and bread riots 108
The provincial towns 109
Impoverishment of the nobles 109
Rise of other classes; official nobles 110
Capitalists 111
Men of letters 112
The *bourgeoisie* 112
Civic notables 113
The clergy 114
The lawyers 115
The new philosophy 115
Voltaire 117
Rousseau 118
Diderot and the 'Encyclopédie' 119
The Church and public opinion 120
The Huguenots 121
Absence of healthy public opinion 123
Political failures of Louis XIV. 124
Reign of Louis XV. 125

CHAPTER XIII.

FRANCE—*continued.*

Accession of Louis XVI. 127
The reforms of Turgot 128
Opposition of the privileged classes 128
The war of American independence 130
Necker's *compte rendu* 131
An assembly of notables, 1787 132
The states-general convoked 133
Hazard of the experiment 134
Meeting of the states-general 136
Rights of the three orders 137

PAGE
The national assembly 138
Union of the orders 139
Dismissal of Necker 140
Taking of the Bastile 140
Renunciation of privileges, August 4 143
Condition of Paris 145
The clubs 147
The invasion of Versailles by the mob 149
The king at Paris 149
New constitution proclaimed, July 12, 1790 150
Foreign aid invoked by the court 151
The king's flight to Varennes 153
Relations of the king to the revolution 154
National legislative assembly 156
Position of the king 157
War with Austria 158
Riotous mob of petitioners, June 20, 1792 159
Duke of Brunswick's manifesto 160
Insurrection in Paris, August 10, 1792 161
The commune of Paris 162
The September massacres 163
Abolition of the monarchy 165
The Girondists 165
The Mountain 166
Revolutionary propaganda 167
Trial of the king 168
His dignified conduct 170
His execution; and character 172

CHAPTER XIV.

FRANCE—*continued.*

Triumph of the Mountain 173
The coalition against France 173
Measures of defence 174
The committee of public safety 175
Arrest of the Girondists 176
The convention and the people 177
The invasion; France in arms 178
Men of the revolution 181
Triumph of French arms 183
Cruelties of the Mountain; Lyons, &c. 183
Execution of Marie Antoinette 186

PAGE
And of the Girondists 186
Heroism of the revolution 187
The worship of reason 187
Ascendency of Robespierre 188
The Revolutionary tribunal 189
Decline and fall of Robespierre 191
Reaction 193
Proceedings against the terrorists 195
Insurrections 196
Royalist reaction 197
New constitution 198
Defence of the convention by Napoleon Bonaparte 199
France under the Directory 200
The republican army 203
Return of Bonaparte from Egypt 206
Coup-d'état, 18 Brumaire, 1799 206
Disregard of liberty throughout the revolution 209
Bonaparte First Consul 209
Constitution of Sieyès 210
The rule of Bonaparte 211
Peace of Amiens 211
Bonaparte at Notre Dame 212
First Consul for life 213
Napoleon emperor 213
Napoleon and the revolution 215
His military domination 216
His divorce and marriage 217
Decline of his fortunes 218
His abdication at Fontainebleau 219
Results of the revolution 220
Effects of the revolution upon Europe 221

CHAPTER XV.

FRANCE—*continued.*

Conditions of the restoration 224
Charter of Louis XVIII. 225
Return of Napoleon from Elba 225
Second restoration 226
Weakness of the monarchy 226
Political parties 227
Violence of the royalists 229
Coup-d'état, September 5, 1816 230

PAGE
The king opposed to the royalists 231
Royalist reaction 232
Accession and character of Charles X. 235
Unpopular measures 236
Dissolution, June, 1827 237
The Polignac ministry 238
Dissolution and coup-d'état, May, 1830 239
Insurrection in Paris, July, 1830 241
Abdication of Charles X. 242
Louis Philippe, king of the French 244
Influence of the revolution of July, 1830, upon foreign States . . 244

CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCE—*continued.*

Difficulties of Louis Philippe's position 246
State of parties 247
Contrast between 1789 and 1830 249
Abolition of hereditary peerage 250
Insurrections 251
Marshal Soult's ministry 253
Corruption 254
Attempts to assassinate the king 255
Ministry of Thiers, 1836 255
Louis Napoleon at Strasburg 256
Marshal Soult's second ministry 256
Insurrection of Barbès, 1839 256
Agitation for reform 258
Thiers restored to power 259
Louis Napoleon at Boulogne 259
Marshal Soult's third ministry 261
Discontents of the working classes 261
Reform agitation, 1840–1842 262
The Spanish marriages, 1846 265
Reform banquets, 1847–1848 266
Tumults, February 22, 1848 268
Ministry of Thiers and Odillon Barrot 269
Abdication of the king 270
Failures of Louis Philippe's reign 271
State of Europe from 1830 to 1848 272
Social changes 273
Intellectual progress 273
Effects of the revolution of 1848 upon Europe 274

CHAPTER XVII.

FRANCE—*continued.*

PAGE

The republic of 1848 280
National workshops 282
Red republicans, socialists, and communists 282
Firmness of Lamartine 285
Invasion of the Hôtel de Ville 287
Storming of the assembly 288
Cavaignac dictator 290
Louis Napoleon elected president 291
The president and the assembly 295
The coup-d'état, December 2, 1851 301
The massacre on the boulevards 303
Measures of coercion 305
Louis Napoleon after the coup-d'état 307
The second empire 308
The imperial court 310
Principles of government 311
Wars of the empire 311
Domestic policy 313
The war with Prussia 316
Its fatal issue; the emperor deposed 317
Fate of the first and second empires compared 318
The government of National Defence 319
National assembly at Bordeaux 320
The Commune 321
Progress of socialism 323
Communist outrages 327
Paris in flames 328
The Commune suppressed 328
The republic under Thiers 329
The royalists and the Comte de Chambord 329
Marshal MacMahon president 330
The 16th May, 1877 332
The future of France 333

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENGLAND.

History of England, that of liberty, not of democracy 334
Character of the country 335
The Celts 337

PAGE
The Romans 337
The Anglo-Saxons 339
The Danes 343
The Norman conquest 345
The Crown, the barons, and the people 346
Representation of the commons, 1265 347
Political and social progress in the fourteenth century . . . 349
Decay of feudalism 350
Wat Tyler's insurrection 352
Reaction against the commons 352
Wars of the Roses 353
Absolutism of Henry VIII. 354
The Reformation 355
The reign of Elizabeth 357
Social changes; nobles and country gentlemen 358
The Puritans 361

CHAPTER XIX.

ENGLAND—*continued.*

Accession of James I. 367
His treatment of the commons 367
And of the Puritans 368
The king and the Church 369
His contests with parliament 371
Close of his reign 373
Charles I. and his parliaments 374
Resolves to govern without a parliament 379
Taxes by prerogative 379
Ship-money 380
The Star Chamber and High Commission courts 380
Laud and Strafford 381
Rebellion in Scotland, 1639 382
Short parliament of 1640 383
The long parliament, 1640 385
Remedial measures 385
Impeachments 386
Attainder of Strafford 387
Parliamentary excesses 388
The king and the long parliament 392
Arrest of the five members 396
The Militia bill 397

CHAPTER XX.

ENGLAND—*continued.*

PAGE
The civil war 398
The solemn league and covenant 400
The Independents 401
Oliver Cromwell 402
Self-denying ordinance 403
The king given up by the Scots 404
Fall of the Church of England 405
Presbyterians and Independents 406
The king, the army, and the parliament 407
Growth of republican opinions 413
Trial and execution of the king 416
Contemporary opinion, and judgment of posterity 416

CHAPTER XXI.

ENGLAND—*continued.*

Provisional government 419
Republican theories 420
Cromwell's supremacy 422
Cromwell protector 424
Vigour of his rule 426
Aspires to a crown 428
His death 429
His character 430
Richard Cromwell protector 431
General Monk, and the Restoration 433
Effects of the civil war upon the monarchy 435
Reaction under Charles II. 436
James II. 437
Revolution of 1688 438
Securities for public liberty 439
Characteristics of the Revolution 440
William III. 440
The representation 442
Power of the aristocracy 443
From the revolution to the accession of George III. 444
Ascendency of the Crown, the Church, and the land 445

CHAPTER XXII.

ENGLAND—*continued.*

PAGE

First years of George III. 448
The war of American Independence 449
Effects of the French revolution 450
Social changes 451
Growth of towns, commerce, and manufactures 452
The Church and dissent 454
Political education 455
Political associations 457
The Catholic Association 460
Agitation for Parliamentary reform, 1830–1832 462
Repeal agitation 463
The Chartists 464
The 10th April, 1848 465
Anti-corn law league 466
Meetings in Hyde Park 467
Moral of political agitation 468
Trades unions 470
Changes in the representation 472
Increase of popular influence and remedial legislation . . . 473
Democratic opinions 475
Loyalty 476
Reign of Queen Victoria 479
Illness and recovery of the Prince of Wales 479
Conservative elements of society 480

INDEX 483

CHAPTER X.

THE NETHERLANDS.

CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY, AND OF THE PEOPLE—EARLY HISTORY—GROWTH OF TOWNS—THEIR CONTESTS WITH FEUDALISM—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BURGHERS—RIVALRY OF TOWNS—THEIR MILITARY PROWESS—JAMES AND PHILIP VAN ARTEVELDE—CULTURE AND ART—THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY—THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.—ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS COMPARED.

Twofold illustrations of democracy.

THE history of the Netherlands presents illustrations of democracy under two distinct aspects. The first exhibits the growth and political power of municipal institutions; the second, the assertion of civil and religious liberty. Of these, the former was common to the Netherlands and other European States. The latter affords the first and most memorable example, in the history of the world, of the struggles of a nation for the rights of conscience.

Character of the country.

No country could form a greater contrast to Switzerland than the Netherlands. Instead of being a land of mountains and valleys, Holland and the greater part of Belgium are an alluvial plain, below the level of the sea. Formed by deposits from the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, it is a dead flat, as far as the eye can reach. The landscape is broken by no hill or rising ground. But in this far-stretching plain, man has carried on a more difficult struggle with nature,

CHAP X.

than the Swiss mountaineer. He found it a morass, over which the waters of great rivers, and of the ocean, flowed. By patient toil, by hardihood, and by skill, he reclaimed this watery wilderness from nature, and converted it to his own enjoyment. He embanked the rivers: he raised huge barriers against the ocean: he drained the swampy soil which he had rescued from the floods; and, by his skilful industry, he made it as fertile as the most favoured lands of Europe. So little had nature helped him, that he might almost have claimed the toil-won earth as his own creation. The races by whom this stupendous work was done, wrestled with dangers, hardships and discouragements, without a parallel in the records of human enterprise. Nor could they rest from their labours, when the work was done. They had still to maintain an incessant battle with the elements, to save their fields from being again engulfed; and too often were they overcome in the unequal strife.[1] They could find no foundations for their dwellings, but sand and bog, and piles. They had neither stone nor wood for building. Their quays and warehouses, inviting the commerce of the world, were raised above the waters, by forests of timber from distant lands. In all their undertakings nature continued adverse. Such men were brave, hardy, and resolute. Their lives were one sustained struggle for existence.

Dutch sailors.

Having thus divided the land on which they dwelt from the waters, these stalwart settlers, already surrounded by the sea, and by estuaries and navigable rivers, constructed a network of canals as the common

[1] Sir W. Temple said:—'They employ more men to repair the dykes than all the corn in the province would maintain.'—*Observations on the United Provinces*, ch. iii. p. 15 (Works).

highways of their country. They were natural-born sailors. They had thrust back the sea from their homesteads: but they were ever ready to brave its dangers. Water was their element: they crossed the ocean, to foreign ports: they coasted along their own sinuous shores: they navigated the rivers and canals. Such a people were naturally destined to advance in commerce, in wealth, in industrial association, and in freedom. CHAP. X.

Early races of the Netherlands.

The races by which the Netherlands were peopled had sprung from Teutonic and Celtic tribes. The Frisian, Batavian, and Saxon Teutons generally migrated to the North: the Belgic and Gallic Celts settled in the South. Holland became the home of the Teutons: the greater part of Belgium of the Celts.[1] Both had to contend with the natural difficulties of their country: but the hardest struggle, and the worst climate, were the lot of the northern settlers. The inhabitants of the North and of the South had many interests in common. The Frisians and the Flemings especially were united in the toilsome work of reclaiming their lands from the hungry waters, and they were engaged in the same maritime and industrial pursuits. But differences of race, of language, of social habits, and of religion, withheld them from so complete a fusion, as would probably have followed the settlement of kindred tribes. The one spoke a language of German root: the other generally shared the speech of the kindred Gauls. And

[1] Learned studies concerning the origin and settlements of these various tribes will be found in Desroches, *Hist. Ancienne des Pays-Bas*, liv. i.; Schayes, *Les Pays-Bas avant et durant la domination Romaine*; Renard, *Hist. Politique et Militaire de la Belgique*; Petigny, *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'époque Merovingienne*; Juste, *Hist. de Belgique*, ch. i.-iv.; and Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Introduction.

CHAP. X.

their history discloses a continued divergence of character and of destiny, in these two ancient families of man.

Their early history.

All these tribes were naturally brave and warlike. The Nervii, the Batavi,[1] and the Belgæ, are renowned in history, as worthy foes of Cæsar, and the Roman legions.[2] All the races united, under the Batavian chief Civilis, and fought bravely, but in vain, to resist the dominion of the Roman Empire. The dwellers in the high grounds of the frontier, near the Meuse,—now the Walloon provinces,—took service in the Roman armies: but the inhabitants of the plains of Holland and Flanders steadily pursued their battles with nature, cultivated their lands, and engaged in new maritime adventures. After the fall of Imperial Rome, the Franks took possession of the Belgic Netherlands: but the Frisians of the north held out, until at length they were reduced by Charlemagne, and became subjects of his vast empire. The Netherlands were afterwards lost to the Franks, and were united to Germany.

924 A.D.

Feudalism and the Church.

Meanwhile feudalism and the Church of Rome were taking a firm hold upon these provinces. In the north the Count of Holland and the Bishop of Utrecht,—a Prince of the Church,—were the great feudal sovereigns. In the south, the Dukes of Lorraine and Brabant, the Earls of Flanders, the Bishops of Liége and Tournay, and a host of counts and barons, divided the sovereignty of the country.[3] Fortified castles were as threatening, in the Flemish plains, as in the mountains

[1] The Batavi are called by Tacitus 'ferox gens,' *Hist.* i. 59.

[2] Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, books i.–iv.

[3] A detailed account of the several provinces and their sovereigns, and their relations with France, the Empire, and Spain, is given in Juste, *Hist. de Belgique*, i. 150; ii. 261. See also Grimeston, *General Hist. of*

of Switzerland, and on the rivers of Germany. Friesland alone extorted concessions from Charlemagne, which restrained feudal rights; and successfully resisted the claims of feudalism. The people maintained their ancient liberties, and acquired the name of the Free Frisians. For centuries the iron rule of feudalism held the Netherlands, like other parts of Europe, in its chains. Whatever may have been the traditions of freedom among the German races, they were lost under the empire of force. But the causes which overcame feudalism elsewhere,[1] were gradually undermining its power in the Netherlands. Rival counts were at war with one another, and with their sovereign: feudal lords and bishops were meeting sword in hand, in the field of battle: nobles were impoverished by costly state, and extravagance; and the Crusades thinned their ranks, and ruined their fortunes. Above all, the steadfast character of the people, and the peculiarities of their country, favoured an early development of maritime enterprise, commerce and manufactures. These were followed by the rapid growth of towns, and the formation of urban communities of enterprising and wealthy burghers,—of merchants, traders, and artificers. While feudalism was declining, the towns were ever increasing in power.

Growth of cities.

The commerce and industrial arts of Italy had favoured the growth of its memorable republics; and the same causes developed the liberties of the great cities of the Netherlands. The position of this country was no less favourable to commerce, in the north of

the Netherlands; Wicquefort, *Hist. des Provinces Unis*; Lothian, *Hist. of the Netherlands*.

[1] See *supra*, chap. vi.

CHAP. X.

Europe, than that of Italy in the south. Bordering on France and Germany, and within a day's sail of England, its merchants were in the very centre of northern commerce. By the Rhine and the Elbe, they conveyed their merchandise into the very heart of Germany; and the Scheldt and the Thames invited, from opposite shores, the interchange of Flemish and English products. Flanders also became an *entrepôt* for the commerce between the north of Europe and the Mediterranean. Bruges was the great central mart of the cities of the Hanseatic League, and was the rival of Venice in the Eastern trade. Italian merchants brought there the spices of the East, the silks and jewelry of Italy, and the rich productions of the Mediterranean: the English displayed their wools and famous woollen fabrics: the Flemings sold their cloths, lace, and linens; and traders from the Baltic and North Seas bartered their salt-fish, hides and tallow, for the tempting luxuries of Southern climes.[1] Antwerp and Bruges have been aptly described as the Liverpool and Manchester of the fifteenth century. In course of time, new fields of commercial enterprise were opened to Dutch and Flemish merchants. The discovery of America offered a new world to their commerce; and the sea passage to the Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, diverted the Eastern trade from the Italian cities, and the Mediterranean, to the adventurous mariners of the Netherlands.

In manufactures, and the industrial arts, the excellence of the Netherlands was no less marked. Their fabrics in silk, tapestry and linen, and their artistic works in brass and iron, were sought for in every market of Europe. In shipbuilding, their artificers

[1] Robertson, *Charles V.* sect. i.; Juste, *Hist de Belgique*, i. 152, &c.

were the most active and ingenious of their times. In navigation, their seamen were skilful and adventurous. Fleets of merchant ships traded with the coasts of England, France, Spain and Portugal. Their fisheries were pursued, with extraordinary daring, as far as the coasts of Scotland. So far were they advanced in the arts of commerce, that in 1310, there was an insurance chamber at Bruges. Thousands of skilled artificers were busy in the factories and workshops of Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and other prosperous cities. In the fourteenth century many of these cities had risen to extraordinary greatness. Ghent is said to have numbered 250,000 inhabitants:[1] Bruges 100,000: Ypres 200,000: Antwerp nearly 200,000: Brussels about 50,000,—at a time when the population of London was less than 50,000, and that of Paris not more than 120,000. Noble cathedrals, churches, and town-halls still attest their splendour. Bruges was adorned with fifty churches; Thiel with fifty-five. The domestic architecture of the chief cities bears witness to the magnificence and cultivated taste of their citizens. Their wealth and luxuries excited the envy of crowned heads. In the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands there were 208 walled cities and 150 chartered towns. So vigorous a growth of town societies was necessarily accompanied by municipal organisation, and corporate privileges.

Early constitution of the towns. 803 A.D.

Charlemagne had instituted municipal officers called *scabini* or sheriffs, to assist the counts in the government of the cities. They were chosen by the count from patrician families, which, with some of the higher *bourgeoisie*, ruled these cities. From an early period

[1] At the siege of Ghent, in 1281, there were said to be 80,000 men, bearing arms: *Froissart*, Chron. ii. ch. 91 (Collection de Buchon).

CHAP. X.

the inhabitants secured exemption from feudal servitude. But it was not until the twelfth century that they obtained the privileges of municipal self-government. Trade guilds were then organised, which laid the foundation of municipal liberties. The guilds chose wardens; and they again elected two or more of their own body as burgomasters. And to these cities, charters were freely given by the counts, which encouraged self-government. Among their privileges was that of erecting a belfry, to the sound of whose bells the inhabitants assembled, to deliberate upon the affairs of the city, or flew to arms to repel their enemies.[1]

The chartered towns now governed themselves, having their own laws, their own courts of justice, their own system of finance, their police and burgher guards. Their constitutions were generally alike. Each town had its senate composed of burgomasters[2] and sheriffs; and a council of citizens, by whom the senate was elected. The trade guilds were trained to arms, and assembled under their distinctive banners, at the sound of the great bell, or by order of the magistrates. This municipal organisation favoured a spirit of liberty and independence, and placed considerable power in the hands of an armed people. Flanders, being more favoured by its position, was in advance of Holland, in the number and prosperity of its towns; many of which obtained charters, a hundred years before their Dutch neighbours.

[1] Oudegherst, *Chroniques et Annales de Flandre*; Van Praet, *Origine des Communes de Flandre*; De Bast, *Institution des Communes en Belgique*; Grimeston, *General History of the Netherlands*; Juste, *Hist. de Belgique*, i. 178, 3rd Edition.

[2] Most of the towns had three or four burgomasters, but some had one only.

CHAP. X.

The burgomaster and the baron.

A new political power was thus arising, which threatened the supremacy of the nobles. The burgomaster was becoming a more formidable power than the baron. The trained bands of the city guilds soon outnumbered the vassals serving under the standards of their feudal chiefs. If less accomplished in the arts of war, they were brave, impetuous, and stubborn. If their onslaughts were not made according to the received tactics of their age, they were too vigorous and determined, to be easily repelled by the most experienced soldiers. These sturdy burghers, convinced of the justice of their cause, and animated by a strong *esprit de corps*, were slow to admit defeat. If worsted in the strife, they returned to the battle-field, with redoubled force; and rarely laid down their arms, until their cause was won.[1] Their collisions with the counts were incessant; and while their enemies were continually weakened by divisions among themselves, they were ever increasing in numbers, in wealth, in organisation, and in confidence.

Local disadvantages of the barons.

The contest was otherwise unequal, on the side of the barons. The confined area of the country at once restricted their numbers, and the extent of their territories. It afforded no such field for feudal dominion as the wide plains of Germany and France. The towns were constantly encroaching upon these narrow domains: while their prosperity and freedom attracted multitudes of country people, who gladly fled

[1] You know, my Lord, the humour we of Ghent
Have still indulged—we never cry for peace,
But when we're out of breath: give breathing time,
And ere the echo of our cry for peace
Have died away, we drown it with 'War! war!'
Philip Van Artevelde, act i. sc. iv.

CHAP. X.

from feudal servitude, and agricultural labour, in the dullest of all habitable lands, to the lucrative employments, the comforts, and the free and active social life of the busy town.

The country ill-suited for defence.

The peculiar character of the country itself also placed the barons at a certain disadvantage, in presence of their powerful and combative neighbours. In Italy and Switzerland, in Germany and France, we see the ruined castles of the feudal lords, frowning from rocky heights, and commanding the rivers and valleys beneath them. The Alps, the Apennines, the Riviera, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, the Moselle, the Danube, and the Loire bristle with these grim monuments of mediæval life. Nature had there provided fortresses for the warlike barons: but in the low plains of the Netherlands, they sought in vain for height, or crag, or other defensive vantage-ground. Nature had been niggardly in her gifts to this sorry land. The peasant could find no safe foundations for his humble cot: the lord could find no defence for his castle, save in the moat, the raised drawbridge, the loopholes and the battlements of his own construction. His stronghold could be surrounded by his enemies: it was open to sudden assaults and surprises, to the onslaught of armed men, or to the insidious torch. The hosts of burghers, who swarmed from the city walls, often found the castles of their baronial foes an easy prey to their impetuous raids.

Character of the burghers.

Such being the inequalities of the strife, it was natural that the towns should gradually have prevailed. Their quarrels with the nobles were incessant. Sometimes new claims were repelled: sometimes the payment of accustomed dues was resisted: sometimes

a casual provocation, on either side, was resented. In these rude times it were vain to inquire, to which side justice more often inclined. The barons were haughty, and exacting; and ever ready to draw the sword. The burghers, proud of their civic franchises, bearing their own municipal burthens, and inflated with local patriotism, showed scant respect for feudal rights. Feudalism, with all its incidents, had been established by the power of the strongest; and by a still stronger force, it might now be overthrown. The like conflicts had arisen everywhere: they were the natural results of feudalism, enduring in the *midst* of a changing and growing society. But nowhere had the burghers been so headstrong and aggressive, so resolute in the assertion of their rights, so prompt to assail others, as well as to defend themselves, as in the Netherlands. In Holland, they were stubborn and determined: in Flanders, Brabant, and other provinces, where the Celtic temperament prevailed, they were violent and impulsive. But all pursued the same ends, in their own fashion. In their dealings with local barons, or provincial sovereigns, they were ever determined to have their own way. Parley and compromise were not to their taste: their rude and hardy fibre prompted instant action. They were as ready to begin the fray, as to maintain it. They fought with nobles, as they had wrestled with the sea, and with adverse nature. They would not allow any power to withstand them. Such a temper advanced their liberties, while it disturbed the peace of the country, and checked their social prosperity. In admiring their courageous love of freedom, we cannot be blind to the rough and unmannerly fashion in which

CHAP. X.

it was, too often, asserted.[1] They lived in a rude age, when men were more ready with blows than words: when force was still the first law of society: when every man's hand was raised against his neighbour: when the baron was at war with baron and burgher: when the lord of the strong castle was, at once, warrior and brigand. In such a condition of society, hard-working burghers are not to be judged by the standards of our settled times. They had sprung from robust northern races, more given to deeds of hardihood than to gentle manners: their lot had been cast in an unpromising land, and an ungenial climate: they could gaze upon no scenes of natural beauty: there was little of warmth or colouring in the atmosphere: there was nothing around them to inspire their imagination, to raise their thoughts above their daily toil, or to invite repose and tranquil enjoyments. They were traders, weavers, shipwrights, mariners, striving lustily in the battle of life: they worked under leaden skies, and looked out upon a landscape like the Isle of Dogs.

[1] Hallam says:—'Liberty never wore a more unamiable countenance than among these burghers, who abused the strength she gave them by cruelty and insolence.'—*Middle Ages*, ii. 86.

Mr. Motley says:—'Doubtless the history of human liberty in Holland and Flanders, as everywhere else upon earth where there has been such a history, enrols many scenes of turbulence and bloodshed, although these features have been exaggerated by prejudiced historians. Still, if there were luxury and insolence, sedition and uproar, at any rate there was life. Those violent little commonwealths had blood in their veins: they were compact of proud, self-helping, muscular vigour.'—*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Intr. p. 35.

According to Juste:—'Cette vieille terre de liberté ne sut jamais supporter le despotisme, quel qu'il fût, religieux, ou philosophique, espagnol, autrichien ou hollandais. De là, le reproche de turbulence adressé méchamment à un peuple qui se bornait à défendre les droits les plus sacrés, les libertés confirmées par le serment du prince, des traditions conservatrices de la nationalité.'—*Hist. de Belgique*, Intr. p. 10.

Such men were naturally rough, earnest, and obstinate. They were brave, as the bravest knights: but they knew not chivalry, or courtesy.

Influence of trade guilds.

In following the rude struggles of the burghers for freedom, we must not overlook the influence of trade guilds upon their character, and political life. These associations,—useful, and even necessary, in the infancy of industrial trades,—contributed to the early civilisation of the inhabitants of towns, and forwarded their civil liberties. They were a great source of strength to the people: but the gathering together of a great number of men, engaged in the same employments, having common interests and sympathies, and separated from other members of the community, tended to narrow their political aims, and to encourage a dangerous *esprit de corps*. Like trades-unions of modern times, they could only see their own side, in any dispute: they were possessed by a single idea; and they advanced it with passionate resolution. At home they were led into turbulence, factions and tumults: abroad, they were hurried into impulsive wars with nobles and rival cities. Such were the burghers of the Netherlands; and, whatever their faults, they won for themselves an extraordinary measure of freedom, at a time when freedom was little known in Europe.

Rival cities.

Unhappily, the rude struggles of these city commonwealths were not confined to contests for freedom. The eternal jealousies of rival cities had been fatal to the peace of Greece, of Italy, and of Switzerland; and they were no less disastrous in the Netherlands. Ghent and Bruges, and other cities,[1] fought

[1] 'Toutes ces guerres et haines murent par orgueil et par envie que les bonnes villes de Flandre avoient l'une sur l'autre, ceux de Gand sur la

CHAP X.

against each other with as much fury as any rival cities, in other lands. Chronic warfare was the lot of these unsettled times; and was common to burghers as well as barons. Had they lived in peace, and united their forces, no sovereign could have withstood them, as was proved in many memorable successes, in later times.

The nobles as citizens.

The country beyond the limits of the town-lands formed the domains of the noblesse and of bishops and abbeys. The nobles exercised an extensive jurisdiction; and were exempt from taxes, in consideration of their feudal obligations. Many of the nobles, however, attracted by the increasing luxuries of the towns, which offered a more agreeable residence than their own swampy plains, came to live among the citizens, and to share their security and ease. Between the two classes there was as little fellowship as between the earl and the alderman, of modern times. But, for the sake of power, several nobles obtained admission to the trade-guilds, and concerned themselves in the municipal government. Some thus became leaders of the people: while others, by their haughty bearing, their violence, and attempts at usurpation, made themselves obnoxious to their fellow-citizens. In 1257, Utrecht thrust forth its bishop, and nobles, and began a lengthened struggle with feudalism. In 1303, Mechlin and Louvain, the two principal cities of Brabant,—like many of the Italian republics,—expelled the patrician families from their walls.

As the military strength of the cities increased, their

ville de Bruges, et ceux de Bruges sur la ville de Gand, et ainsi les autres villes, les unes sur les autres.'—Froissart, *Chroniques*, ii. ch. lii. (Collection de Buchon).

CHAP. X.

pretensions were no longer confined to local struggles with the nobles or rival cities. They resisted the decrees of the great sovereign dukes and counts of their provinces, and took up arms to maintain their rights. They were even able to contend against foreign kings. The Flemings, to overcome the Count of Flanders, had accepted the sovereignty of Philip. the Fair, King of France: but, discontented with the rule of their new master, they were not afraid to revolt against him. In 1301, the burghers of Bruges, led by Peter de Koning, a draper, and John Breydel, a butcher, drove out the French garrison; and, in the following year, won a signal victory over the army of the King of France, at the battle of Courtrai. Other towns sent forth their militia; and after two more years of stubborn warfare, the Flemings overcame their royal foe.

Military prowess of the towns.

This remarkable triumph of civic arms revealed the uses of union among the towns, in defence of their common liberties; and a confederation was formed between the towns of Flanders and Brabant. In 1323, the warlike Bruges was again in arms. With the aid of other Flemish cities, the stubborn burghers made war upon Count Louis of Flanders, and the nobles. They stormed, and dismantled the feudal castles, throughout the province, and they took prisoners, the Count himself, and the greater part of the nobles, who had fled, for safety, to Courtrai. But their triumph was short-lived. Ghent, the jealous rival of Bruges, had taken no part in the movement; and the King of France, coming to the rescue of the Count, in a new dispute, routed and destroyed the gallant Flemings, at the battle of Cassel.

Confederation of towns, 1323.

CHAP. X.

James Van Artevelde.

Ghent was the next city to take the lead in Flemish politics; and, by the union of the burgher forces of confederate cities, it was able to play a conspicuous part in the history of the Netherlands and of Europe. James Van Artevelde, a patrician, who,—in order to direct the councils of the city,—had joined the guild of brewers, became the leader of the Flemish people. He soon swayed a greater power than the Count of Flanders himself. Having overcome the Count, and driven him into France, he assumed the popular sovereignty of the province. He negotiated a treaty of commerce with Edward III. of England; and, having persuaded the Flemings to transfer their allegiance to that monarch, as King of France, he joined, like an independent power, in the war between the rival kings. He brought 60,000 men to the English army at Antwerp; and sent a Flemish squadron to Sluys to aid the English fleet. These timely reinforcements largely contributed to the success of the English arms. A truce was agreed to, between the combatants; and Van Artevelde ruled over Flanders, under the name of Ruward, as a sovereign prince. According to Froissart, 'there never was in Flanders, nor in any other country, prince, duke or other, that ruled a country so peacefully, for so long a time.' The power of the burghers, over feudalism, was illustrated by the wondrous career of the brewer of Ghent. But the popular sovereign, having risen to power by their favour, fell a victim to their wrath. Outraged by his attempts to transfer the sovereignty of Flanders, to the descendants of Edward III. of England; and suspecting him of having sent the Flemish revenues out of the country, the citizens, especially the members

of the lesser guilds, rose and slew him in his own house.[1]

Philip Van Artevelde.

The military power of the burghers of Ghent showed itself again, under the guidance of his no less distinguished son Philip. He overthrew Louis de Male, Count of Flanders, by a bold *coup de main* upon Bruges:[2] was proclaimed regent of the provinces; and like his father, ruled with all the state of a sovereign prince. His burgher forces proved themselves not unworthy foes of the chivalry of France, commanded by their young king Charles VI. in person; but, weakened by the defection of many cities, and overcome by superior forces, the gallant Philip fell, upon the field of battle, in the midst of his routed host.[3]

1382 A.D.

Guilds of the Flemish cities.

While the burghers were thus contending with the nobles, and maintaining their rights against their feudal superiors, they were not without grave divisions among themselves. The guilds were divided into greater or lesser trades, the former being composed of burghers, —generally employers of labour,—and the latter of artificers. The members of the greater guilds were wealthy, powerful and ambitious. They enjoyed the dignities of burgomasters and councillors: they were clothed in the municipal purple; and they ruled

[1] Froissart, *Chroniques*, i. ch. 248 (Collection de Buchon). Few chapters in Froissart are more interesting than this.

> He was the noblest and the wisest man
> That ever ruled in Ghent; yet, Sirs, ye slew him;
> By his own door, here, where I stand, ye slew him.
> *Philip Van Artevelde*, act ii. sc. 2.

[2] Froissart, *Chroniques*, ii. pp. 101, 102, 121, 153–160 (Collection de Buchon).

[3] Froissart, *Chroniques*, ii. ch. 176–198 (Collection de Buchon). The history of this time is delightfully told by Froissart, and may now be read, with redoubled interest, in Sir Henry Taylor's dramatic romance of *Philip Van Artevelde*.

CHAP. X.

with the power of an aristocracy, over the civic state. The working classes could gain admittance to the greater trades, by giving up manual labour for a year and a day: but the great mass of artificers, bound to the lesser trades, were continually striving against the power and privileges of their more exalted brethren. In every town, the old war was waged between a commercial aristocracy and a democracy. At Brussels, Louvain and Antwerp, the people rose in arms against the privileged citizens. In many of the cities, the municipal constitutions having become close, and in a great measure self-elective, it was only by such demonstrations, that the lesser guilds were able to assert their influence. Such constitutions were not framed upon a democratic basis: no provision was made for the legitimate expression of popular opinion, in the municipal councils, by the direct election of representatives; and the elements of democracy, which abounded in these populous cities, instead of being duly associated with authority, were left to maintain irregular and impulsive struggles against it. The local government was often an oligarchy, while the spirit of the burghers was peculiarly democratic.

Factions.

Violent factions were also formed, like the White Hoods of Ghent, who, banded together, in arms, took the direction of affairs out of the hands of the magistrates, and hurried the people into wars and tumults.[1] It was by such bands as these, that the

[1] Froissart, *Chroniques*, ii. ch. 52, 60.

> For truly here there are a sort of crafts,
> So factious still for war, and obstinate,
> That we shall be endanger'd. Suing for peace
> Is ever treason to the White Hoods.
>
> *Philip Van Artevelde*, act i. sc. 1.

industrious burghers were often enticed from the factory and the workshop, to disturb the peace of the city, to slight and provoke their counts, or to engage in quarrels with their neighbours. CHAP. X.

In the midst of all these wars and tumults, society was advancing rapidly in culture. The revival of literature and the arts in Italy was associated with the rise of its republics; and the like result is to be observed in the free cities of the Netherlands. The culture of the wealthier citizens was higher than that of their own class, in any other part of Europe except Italy. Their sons were educated at their own renowned university of Louvain, at Paris, and at Padua. Without neglecting the classics, they were proficient in modern languages, so peculiarly necessary for a commercial people. Their artisans also were not only skilled in handicrafts, but were remarkable for their intelligence and mental activity: they associated in clubs and other societies for recreation and instruction, of which the most important were called guilds, or chambers, of rhetoric. Here poetry, satires and lampoons were recited, plays, masques and pageants acted, and music performed. Among a free, robust and turbulent people, politics naturally intruded into such performances,—just as the Greek drama became political; and these societies exercised much influence upon the political sentiments of the people. Great license was enjoyed by them; and in anticipation of the printing press, which was about to revolutionise the mind of Europe, they were powerful instruments for the association and political instruction of the people. While courted by princes and nobles, they boldly assailed the

Improved culture in the Netherlands.

Guilds of rhetoric (fifteenth century).

CHAP. X.

abuses of the government, and the vices of the clergy; and they prepared the way for the Reformation.

Dutch and Flemish painters.

In the arts, the free cities of the Netherlands were not unworthy rivals of their more gifted brethren of Italy. In the fifteenth century, the brothers Van Eyck, Hans Hemling, and other masters were already founding a national school of painting, whose works became the admiration of Europe. In stately and picturesque architecture, the cities of Flanders and Brabant will bear comparison with the best examples of Italy. Their carvings in wood attained such perfection as to entitle them to rank with sculpture, as a fine art. Such are the evidences of a cultivated society, and of advanced civilisation.

The cities represented in the Estates.

While the cities of the Netherlands were thus advancing in wealth, culture, and military power, they were acquiring more extended political privileges in the government of the State. They sent delegates to the provincial assembly of the Estates,[1] where they sat with the nobles, whom they generally outnumbered.[2] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the principal cities of Holland, Flanders and Brabant, sent their deputies to the Estates; and, while supreme in their own municipal affairs, they voted all the provincial taxes, and exercised a commanding influence in the general administration of the province.[3]

Characteristics of freedom.

Here were all the characteristics and traditions of a free people,—the manly northern race that had battled bravely with Roman conquerors,—the long training of

[1] In Holland the deputies were elected by the senates, each city having one only, whatever the number of deputies.

[2] In Brabant there were fourteen deputies, of whom four were nobles, and ten were chosen by the burghers.

[3] Davies, *Hist. of Holland*, i. 76 *et seq.*

free institutions, the spirit of commercial enterprise, the culture which, in all ages, has been the handmaid of freedom, and the association of citizens in business, in instruction and amusement. CHAP. X.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the liberties of the Netherlands had attained their greatest development, when they were checked by changes of dynasty, which were destined to provoke disastrous conflicts between the people and their rulers. Changes of dynasty.

The burghers had been no unequal match against their own counts and bishops, even when assisted by foreign alliances: but when the Netherlands fell into the hands of powerful sovereigns, with standing armies, and foreign resources, they were at a serious disadvantage. They had been able to resist feudalism: it was now to be seen how far they could withstand the encroachments of monarchs upon their civil rights, and the assaults of tyrants upon their religious liberty. Increasing power of the sovereigns.

Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, first acquired the sovereignty of Flanders and Brabant; and his accession promised well for the liberties of his subjects. So long as the dominion of the House of Burgundy was confined to these provinces, the towns continued to display their accustomed independence. House of Burgundy, 1384 A.D.

But at length Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, secured the sovereignty of nearly all the remaining provinces of the Netherlands.[1] And this new sovereign was also ruler over his own domains of Burgundy, and considerable territories in France. He found the burghers of Bruges and Ghent as intractable as ever: 1437 A.D.

[1] His territories did not include Friesland, the bishopric of Utrecht, Guelders, or Liége. Guelders was afterwards conquered by his son Charles the Bold.

CHAP. X.

but he subdued them. Ghent resisted him, in open war, for two years: but, at length, he conquered the rebellious city, and punished it by the forfeiture of its most important privileges. He visited with greater severity the refractory burghers of Liége, and Dinant. The municipal councils had begun to exercise great influence, even beyond the boundaries of their own cities, and were able to control the sovereign and the nobles. Philip confined them to their municipal affairs, and permitted no interference with his sovereignty. Ghent recovered its privileges from Charles the Bold:[1] but Liége, again rebellious, was given up to pillage.[2] This haughty and impetuous prince was too much engrossed with foreign wars, to concern himself much about the welfare of the Netherlands: but he drained them by excessive taxes, and often provoked revolts by his exactions. He raised a standing army; and he gave arbitrary powers to the supreme court, to deal with the charters of the provinces. His power was weakened by the victories of the free and gallant Swiss; and his early death deferred, for some years, the impending struggle between liberty and despotism.[3]

But while, during the rule of the first princes of the House of Burgundy, the political power of the people was subdued, their wealth and prosperity were rapidly on the increase, and were laying the foundation of their future freedom. At the death of Charles the Bold, the

[1] For a graphic account of the bold and unmannerly fashion in which this was effected, see Philippe de Commines, *Mém.* ii. ch. 4. He says: 'A la vérité dire, après le peuple de Liége, il n'en est nul plus inconstant que ceux de Gand.' See also Barante, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*; Juste, *Hist. de Belgique*, i. 348.

[2] Philippe de Commines, *Mém.* ii. ch. 13, 14; Juste, *Hist.* i. 348.

[3] P. de Commines, *Mém.* v. ch. 1, 8.

provinces and towns assembled a convention at Ghent, and extorted from the young Duchess Mary,[1] the 'Great Privilege,' or charter, by which the free constitution of Holland was restored. The right of the provinces and towns to hold diets, for the consideration of public affairs, was admitted. The sovereign was not to impose taxes, to declare war, or to coin money, without the consent of the Estates. The sovereign undertook to meet the Estates in person, and demand the necessary supplies. All the privileges of the cities were confirmed: they appointed their own magistrates, had their own municipal courts, and were not to contribute to taxes which they had not voted. Similar privileges were granted to Flanders and other provinces; and thus a constitution was obtained for the Netherlands, which recognised, to an unexampled extent, all the rights of a free people under a constitutional monarchy.

CHAP. X.

The Great Privilege. 1477 A.D.

By the union of so many provinces under the House of Burgundy, the Netherlands had now become a considerable State. Each province had its own constitution, and its assembly of Estates, and voted its own subsidies, while it sent delegates to a general assembly of the Estates of all the provinces, for the discussion of national affairs. Each province was as independent as a Swiss canton; and the general assembly of the Estates was not unlike the Swiss Federal Diet. The constitution was municipal rather than political, each province and city holding fast to its own privileges and separate interests, and reducing the power of the states-general, just as the jealousies of the Swiss cantons enfeebled the action of the confederation. The delegates were envoys from the different provinces, with limited powers, and

The Netherlands a considerable State.

[1] P. de Commines, *Mém.* v. ch. 16, 17.

CHAP. X.

precise instructions — not representatives entitled to deliberate and vote, according to their own discretion. The passion for municipal freedom, diversities of interests, and the recent union of the provinces, naturally caused this decentralisation of political power. The national forces were divided and weakened: while the legislative and administrative powers of the sovereign were enlarged. It was not until the provinces should be united by a community of sentiments, interests and wrongs, that a complete federal union could be accomplished; and this result was hereafter to be brought about by the oppressive policy of their rulers. While Switzerland was a republic, the Netherlands enjoyed the widest freedom, under a constitutional sovereign, and had generally been strong enough to maintain it.

The Archduke Maximilian.

Had this liberal constitution been maintained, the Netherlands would, next to Switzerland, have been the freest State in Europe. But the young duchess married the Archduke Maximilian, son of the Emperor, and the Netherlands became an inheritance of the House of Hapsburg. The Great Privilege and other charters were annulled, and the Netherlands were ruled as a province of the German empire.

Death of Princess Mary, 1484.

On the death of the Princess Mary, the rebellious spirit of the Flemings was aroused. They resisted the authority of the archduke: they refused to recognise him as guardian of his own children; and they encountered him in open war. The people of Bruges even seized upon his person, and detained him in prison. Nor would they release him, at the urgent solicitation of the Pope, until they had extorted from him a treaty granting them pardon for their treason, and security for the free enjoyment of their franchises. The duke,

thus defied by his own subjects, appealed to his father, the Emperor, who came to his aid with 40,000 men. But the Flemings were not overawed by this invading force. Under the command of Philip of Cleves, they offered so stout a resistance, that, on payment of a subsidy, they were able to obtain a confirmation of their liberties.

Philip the Fair, 1493.

The constant struggle of Maximilian with his turbulent and rebellious subjects was, at length, brought to a close by his accession to the Imperial throne of Germany. He was succeeded in the sovereignty of the Netherlands by his youthful son, Philip the Fair, who, as the heir of a native princess, was greeted with loyal demonstrations, by his people. He restored peace and tranquillity to his distracted provinces; and won their willing confidence. Having projected a double alliance for himself and his sister, with the royal family of Spain, he sought the consent of the States-General. Flattered by his deference, they cheerfully consented to a union which was fraught with the gravest dangers to the future liberties of their country. The marriage of Philip the Fair with Johanna of Spain was to bring the Netherlands under the inauspicious dominion of his son, the Emperor Charles V.

The Emperor Charles V.

The liberties of the Netherlands, notwithstanding the stubborn resolution of the people, had already been seriously compromised by the growing power of the House of Burgundy, supported by its close connection with the German empire. They were now to be exposed to a far more formidable danger. The new sovereign Charles V., uniting under his rule the kingdom of Spain and the Indies, Milan, Naples, Sicily, and the German empire, was the most powerful

1519.

CHAP. X.

monarch in Europe.[1] How could these narrow provinces hope to contend against the successor of Charlemagne? His power was great; and his imperial will was absolute. There had been times, when to become subjects of the constitutional monarchy of Spain would have promised the recognition of ancient franchises: but changes had lately come over the ancient polity of that State.

Former liberties in Spain.

No monarchy in Europe had once been more free than that of Spain. In Castile and Aragon, and other Spanish kingdoms, the prerogatives of the Crown had been unusually limited; and the Cortes were bold and independent parliaments. In Catalonia, the people had

1462 A.D.

deposed their sovereign John II., and his posterity, as unworthy of the throne, and endeavoured to establish a republic. In Castile, the nobles had deposed their

1465 A.D.

king Henry IV., with the general assent of the people. In Aragon, the kings were originally elective; and it was an article of the constitution, that if a king should violate the rights of the people, it was lawful to dethrone him and elect another in his place. The representatives of the cities held an important place in the Cortes, without whose consent no tax could be imposed: no war declared, nor peace concluded. The institutions of Castile were no less popular; and in the Castilian Cortes, as in the English Parliament, it was an ancient custom to postpone the granting of supplies to the Crown, until grievances had been redressed, and other business affecting the public welfare concluded. Throughout Spain, the cities had attained extraordinary social influence, and political power. They were

[1] He had previously become sovereign of the Netherlands in 1515, at the age of fifteen.

wealthy and prosperous: they were peopled by nobles and landowners, by churchmen, lawyers, scholars, merchants, traders, and, artificers; and to defend themselves against the Moors, they maintained armed forces. The nobles being exempt from taxation, it was to the cities that the kings were forced to apply for pecuniary aid; while they were ready to grant privileges and immunities in return.

Decay of Spanish liberties. 1476–1493 A.D.

But Spanish freedom was now a thing of the past. Ferdinand and Isabella had increased the royal prerogative in Castile and Aragon; and Charles V. had still further enlarged the powers of the Spanish Crown.[1] But he had found a spirit of freedom and independence in his subjects, which was not suddenly to be repressed. The Cortes having voted a free gift to the Emperor, without a previous redress of grievances, a formidable insurrection was provoked. Toledo, Segovia, and most of the principal cities of Castile formed an armed confederacy, or holy *Junta*, for the redress of their grievances. In a remonstrance to the Emperor, they stated the wrongs of the Castilian people in language which, a century later, the sturdy commons of England repeated, with more effect, to the arbitrary Stuarts. Their remonstrance not being received, they flew to arms; and under the popular Don Juan de Padilla, and other leaders, they boldly fought against the royal troops. They were routed and destroyed: their leaders were put to death: but Padilla's heroic widow long defended Toledo, by arousing the enthusiasm of the people. Insurrections also broke out in Valentia, and Aragon: but they were readily repressed; and, in subduing these popular movements, Charles over-

1520 A.D.

[1] Robertson, *Charles V.*, sect. iii.

CHAP. X.

threw the ancient liberties of Spain.[1] By dividing the nobles and the commons, he weakened the power of both; and contrived to reduce the Cortes to a powerless and obsequious assembly.

The Netherlands under Charles V.

Such was the monarch who now ruled over the Netherlands. Absolute king and emperor, in other realms, his relations with his Dutch and Flemish subjects differed widely from those of former sovereigns, —counts of Holland and Flanders, and dukes of Burgundy. Provinces which had fought successfully against feudal superiors, were now the dependencies of a vast empire. Charles, who had overcome the liberties of his own land, was little inclined to respect provincial franchises; and his power was too great to be trifled with by turbulent and rebellious burghers.

New taxation.

But he was welcomed by his new subjects as a native prince, who had been brought up amongst them; and, at first, he seemed disposed to respect their liberties. These provinces were the richest part of his dominions, and the most fruitful source of his revenues. Being at war with France, he urgently needed their subsidies, which they granted freely in reply to his demands. They had no interest in the cost of an empire, and a Spanish war; and the new taxes fell heavily upon them: but they bore their burthens cheerfully. They ventured, however, to assert the freedom of their gifts, and their right to refuse payment of any tax levied without their consent. The Emperor somewhat contemptuously acknowledged their privileges: but gave them to understand that he would allow no parley as to his claims. He was not to be 'haggled with like a huckster.' The people were

[1] Robertson, *Charles V.*, b. iii.

slow to realise the change which had come over their destinies. They had been accustomed to resist any invasion of their privileges, and they had not yet measured the power of their new sovereign. But they were soon to learn that they held their liberties at the mercy of a ruler, whom they could not venture to defy.

Rebellion of Ghent.

The great city of Ghent,—ever foremost in resisting provincial sovereigns,—was the first to provoke the wrath of the Emperor. A heavy subsidy had been granted to him, by the Netherlands: but the sturdy citizens of Ghent refused to pay their share, upon the plea that their consent had not been sought, according to their charters. Nor did their rebellion rest here. They even offered to surrender their city to the king of France. But, finding themselves without help, they sued, in vain, for mercy. Again and again, had they braved their rulers with impunity: but they were now under the iron hand of a new master: they had rebelled against him; and punishment awaited them.

1539 A.D.

Its punishment. 1540 A.D.

The great potentate who dominated over Europe, could not brook the independent spirit of Flemish citizens. He humbled the proud city for its rebellion, by making its senators and other burghers pray for pardon at his feet with halters round their necks: he put several of the principal citizens to death, and banished many others: he abrogated its municipal privileges, and mulcted it with heavy fines.[1] Henceforth, the municipal officers were to be appointed by the Emperor himself; and the guilds, reduced in

[1] Robertson, *Charles V.*, book vi.; Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i. 57.

CHAP. X.

numbers, were deprived of all their rights of self-government.

The liberties of the Netherlands in abeyance.

After such an example of imperial power, further resistance was checked, throughout the Netherlands. The empire was so strong, and these little provinces were so overshadowed by its power, that they seemed to have no higher destiny than the Spanish provinces of Aragon, or Catalonia. They were the domains of Spain, and must be governed by the will of its autocratic king. They retained, indeed, their municipal and provincial institutions: but these were bereft of substantial force. All their charters were held at the pleasure of the supreme court of Mechlin; and if they served to maintain the traditions of former freedom, they offered no present security for the franchises of the people.

Fortunes of Italy and the Netherlands compared.

The fate of this once free country, after centuries of persistent struggles, now resembled that of Italy. Both had advanced in commerce, in culture and in freedom. In both, municipal institutions had overcome feudalism, and secured freedom and self-government for the people. And now both alike were under the arbitrary rule of kings and emperors. The Netherlands, indeed, had escaped the intermediate scourge of usurpers and tyrants, under which Italy had suffered. They had enjoyed their liberties to the last: they had asserted them roughly, and turbulently, after their own rude fashion: they had defied feudal lords and sovereigns, rival cities, and civic factions: but their independence was suddenly overthrown. Their victories over feudalism were, at once, wrested from them; and without any decay of their political spirit, without any decline of their

virtues, without any social changes, at the height of their prosperity and power, they were reduced to the same political subjection as Tuscany and Lombardy. With marked diversities in the history of Italy and the Netherlands, no less than in the genius and character of their inhabitants, their protracted struggles for liberty had been equally in vain. In the sixteenth century, it seemed as if nothing were left to the patriots of both these historic lands, than sadly to cherish the memories of the past, without a hope of the future. Absolute monarchies were in the ascendant; and the race of freedom had been run. And such, indeed, was the lot of Italy, for the next three centuries: but a more hopeful destiny awaited the Netherlands.

Impending struggle for religious liberty.

Following in the footsteps of Italy, the Netherlands had illustrated the political power of municipal communities. They had shown how the wealth, population and enlightenment of towns could dominate over the mediæval forces of feudalism. They now displayed the feebleness of municipal franchises, in presence of an overmastering monarchy. So far the like examples are to be found in the history of Italy, of Spain, of France, and of Germany. But, for the first time in the annals of Europe, the Netherlands, as a nation, were about to enter upon a new struggle, in defence of the rights of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion. It was an heroic struggle which was to change their own political destinies, and to promote the future liberties of Europe.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NETHERLANDS (*continued*).

CHARLES V. AND THE REFORMATION—THE CRIME OF PERSECUTION—PHILIP II. OF SPAIN—WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE SEVERITIES OF PHILIP—CRUELTIES OF ALVA—REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS—THEIR HEROIC STRUGGLES—ASSASSINATION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—THE DUTCH REPUBLIC THE HOUSE OF ORANGE—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—THE MONARCHY OF 1813—REVOLUTION OF 1813—HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

CHAP. XI.

Charles V. and the Reformation.

THE Reformation,—the most signal event in the reign of Charles V.,—was gravely affecting the relations of subjects to their rulers. This religious movement spread rapidly over the north of Europe. It extended over Germany, England, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland. It found many adherents in France, and in the Netherlands. The Emperor was prepared to crush this movement, throughout his dominions: but in Germany the new faith was accepted by so large a number of his subjects, and by so many princes and free cities, that it was beyond his control: while his attention was diverted by troubles in other parts of his wide-spread empire. In Spain, the Reformation gave him no concern. Heretics were promptly punished by the Inquisition; and the Spanish mind was closed against the doctrines of the reformers. But in the Netherlands, where these obnoxious doctrines were

beginning to be rife, he was resolved to lose no time in repressing them, with all the powers of an autocrat.

Persecution of Protestants. 1521–1523.

In order to arrest the spread of the new opinions, Charles resorted to the severest measures. He decreed that all converts should be punished with death and forfeiture of their goods. He forbade, under like penalties, the reading of the Scriptures, private meetings for worship, and even religious discussions at the family fireside. For the detection of offenders he rewarded informers with one-half the property of convicted heretics. And for carrying out these decrees, he introduced the terrible Inquisition. Hence sprang the foulest religious persecution that had disgraced the world since the sufferings of the early Christians under the Roman Empire. The number of its victims, during this reign, have been estimated at from 50,000 to 100,000. When constantly increasing numbers adopted the new faith, and were pursued with cruel rigour, the breach between the government and the people became irreconcilable. Already there was repugnance to the alien Spaniards, resentment at their haughty rule, regret for liberties overthrown, and suffering under heavy taxation. These sentiments were now inflamed by religious zeal and hatreds, and by a stubborn spirit of resistance to persecution.

Persecution a political crime.

No greater crime had ever been committed by a ruler, than this merciless persecution of his Protestant subjects by Charles V. These provinces had been brought under his dominion, by the accident of a marriage, in his royal house: their destinies were in his hands, for good or for evil: they had, for centuries, been prosperous, and contented: they had enriched all Europe with their commerce and industry: they had

CHAP. XI.

advanced the civilisation of the North with their enlightened intercourse: but all their claims to favour and indulgence were ignored. They had received new religious inspirations, not recognised at Madrid; and they were to be proscribed with the malignity of a Marius or a Sulla.

Persecution a new form of tyranny.

A new form of tyranny had grown out of the Reformation. There had been earlier examples of religious persecution: but now it had become the policy of rulers to treat obnoxious creeds with greater severity than rebellion against the State. It was not enough that their people were good and loyal subjects, obedient to the civil laws, and zealous in the service of their country. If they dared to worship God in any other form than that prescribed by the State,[1] they were punished as the worst of criminals. Despotism over the souls of Christians was the great aim of statescraft, in the sixteenth century; and it was pursued with a cold-blooded cruelty and ferocity rarely displayed by the most implacable tyrants. If it was ever just and lawful for subjects to maintain their civil liberties with the sword, it was now a solemn duty to defend the rights of conscience, and the sacred offices of religion. To take up arms for religious liberty, was a holier patriotism than to draw the sword for civil freedom. The worst oppression was that which coerced the soul; and to resist it was the natural right of freemen. The relations of subjects to their rulers were now at once civil and religious.

[1] At the Diet of Augsburg in 1555, it was declared that the rulers of every German State, or city, might tolerate or prohibit the Catholic or Protestant faith, at their pleasure. This Diet secured the toleration of Protestants, but it admitted the right of rulers to determine the faith of their subjects.

CHAP. XI.

Philip II. of Spain. Oct. 25, 1555.

In the midst of his persecutions, Charles V. abdicated, with great pomp and ceremony, at Brussels; and the Netherlands became the inheritance of the cruel and malignant bigot Philip II. of Spain.[1] Altogether a Spaniard, and speaking no other language but his own, —haughty, sullen, taciturn, treacherous and dissembling,—this alien ruler was, in himself, repugnant to all the sympathies of his Dutch and Flemish subjects; and his arbitrary and oppressive policy was soon to become intolerable. To allay the apprehensions of the people, he swore to observe all their charters, privileges and constitutions, which he had resolved to violate. But at the same time he renewed all the edicts of the Emperor against heretics, and ordered them to be carried vigorously into execution. He was met by startling proofs of the independence of his subjects: his demand for supplies was refused by the Estates of the provinces: but a considerable grant was offered, which he was constrained to accept. They also demanded, as a condition of their subsidies, the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, to which he was forced, reluctantly and with an ill grace, to consent. Indignant remonstrances were also made to him by the States-General, against the pillage and disorders of these foreign troops.

Regency of Duchess Margaret. 1559–156

With these words of complaint and remonstrance ringing in his ears, and full of wrath, Philip left this uncongenial realm under the regency of the Duchess Margaret of Parma, a natural daughter of Charles V.

[1] For the following narrative of events during the protracted struggles of the Netherlands with Spain, I have mainly relied upon Mr. Motley's admirable and exhaustive histories of the *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1555–1584), and of the *United Netherlands* (1584–1609).

CHAP. XI.

The real ruler, however, was the Bishop of Arras, afterwards Archbishop of Mechlin, and Cardinal Granvelle, —an artful, ambitious and accomplished priest, after Philip's own heart. A despot and bigot upon principle, slavish towards his master, arbitrary towards the people, by profession a scourger of heretics, adroit, plausible, and deceitful, he was the very man to carry out Philip's policy, in Philip's own way. It was the aim of both to subdue the proud spirit of the Netherlands, and to extirpate heresy from the land: and they were prepared to reach it by force, cruelty, treachery and dissimulation.

William Prince of Orange.

But monarch and priest were to be confronted by the greatest man of that age,—William of Nassau, Prince of Orange,—who is ever to be remembered as the first statesman, whose guiding principle was civil and religious liberty. A descendant and representative of the former sovereigns of the Netherlands, he had been trained in the service of the Emperor Charles V., in war, diplomacy and statecraft. Trusted and honoured by Philip, no less than by his father, and already the first prince in his own land, he could have enjoyed all the dignities and distinctions which royal favours could bestow: but love of his country, a noble ardour for political freedom and religious toleration, and an heroic spirit, combined to make him a patriot, and the liberator of his countrymen. The high purposes of his life received their first impulse, in his early youth. While on a mission to France, in 1559, he learned from the lips of the king himself,[1] that he had entered into a secret agreement with Philip, to extirpate heresy from their respective dominions, by the massacre of all Protestants, high and low; and he was told that in the Netherlands

[1] Henry II.

the Spanish troops would be the chief instruments of this massacre. William listened in silence, and apparently unmoved, to this shocking revelation: but, though himself a Catholic, and high in the confidence of his sovereign, he at once resolved to counteract this iniquitous plot.[1] He wished well to his own faith: but the persecution of innocent men, on account of their religion, was repugnant to his just and noble nature; and he recoiled, with horror, from the sufferings to which his own beloved countrymen were doomed.

His toleration.

He hastened home, and knowing the secret services to which the Spanish troops were destined, he prompted the Estates to insist upon their withdrawal. As Stadtholder of Holland, Friesland and Utrecht, he received the king's commands to execute his bloody edicts against heretics: but his tenderness and mercy made them harmless. He had already incurred Philip's displeasure, before that tyrant left the Netherlands; and as the scheme of the Spanish government was more fully disclosed, he braved every danger to resist it.

Spread of the Reformation.

The Netherlands were peculiarly open to the influence of the Reformation. They had never been devoted to Rome: they had been disturbed by earlier reformers,—Waldenses, Lollards, Hussites,—and now, with the Lutherans of Germany on one side, and the Huguenots of France on the other, the new faith made rapid progress amongst them. Its advance was quickened by the wide intercourse of the people with

[1] For his demeanour on this occasion, the finest orator and writer of his age,—the man whose eloquence swayed councils, senates and multitudes, whose state-papers were models of noble simplicity and force,—was foolishly nicknamed 'the Silent.'

CHAP. XI.

foreigners and their commercial activity. Their lives and their steadfast character prepared them to maintain independence of thought in religion, as well as in political and municipal affairs.

Severities of Philip.

Such were the people whom Philip had resolved to coerce. The edicts of Charles were severe enough: their severity could hardly be increased; so he renewed them, without alteration: while he took credit for making no innovations in religion. But, by increasing the number of bishops and prebendaries, he added to the active staff of the Inquisition; and persecution was renewed with more severity than ever. Not satisfied with the vigilance of local informers and inquisitors, Philip continually directed, from Spain, the torture of his Flemish subjects. Notwithstanding his promises, he had resolved to make his Spanish troops assist in his cruelties: but he was forced to yield to the firm resistance of the people; and, after a delay of some months, he sent them out of the country. The new bishops and inquisitors also excited popular resentment: the monstrous persecutions of which they were the agents, were condemned by all but the merciless bigots, who were zealous in the bloody work.

The Prince of Orange, and Counts Egmont and Horn, resented the power and the insolence of Granvelle. Nobles and people alike were opposed to the Spanish government: they were unable to resist the cruelties of the Inquisition: but they drove Granvelle out of the Netherlands. The king's policy, however, underwent no change. No man was safe from the cupidity of informers, and from the rack, the stake, or the gibbet of the inquisitors. If those who witnessed the martyrdom of their friends and fellow-citizens were outraged,

CHAP. XI.

1565 A.D.

the royal bigot still deemed the penalties of heresy too lenient. He now insisted that the canons of the council of Trent should be proclaimed, which excommunicated heretics, and placed them beyond the pale of the law, and of society.

Efforts of nobles and people.

The nobles and people stood aghast at these increased severities. The Prince of Orange had vainly opposed them: even the council had desired their mitigation: but the King was inflexible; and the Prince foresaw that there was no longer any hope for the outraged people, but in rebellion. The first active measures were taken by the nobles. They signed a protest known as 'the compromise:' they presented a 'request' to the Regent, for redress of grievances; and formed themselves into a riotous confederacy, called Les Gueux, or 'the Beggars.' The Prince and Counts Egmont and Horn, held aloof from these movements, which they vainly sought to moderate. While the Prince was striving, with earnest statesmanship, to obtain concessions from the government, the young nobles were bringing discredit upon the national cause, by their levity and convivial frolics.

Les Gueux.

Mission to Philip.

The council was persuaded to recommend some trifling mitigation of the cruel edicts, and to send the Marquis Berghen and Baron Montigni on a mission to Madrid. But the mission was fruitless, and the ill-fated envoys fell victims to the wrath of the cruel and perfidious Philip.[1]

Continued barbarities.

Meanwhile the executions of sectaries were continued with sickening barbarity: but severity seemed to multiply their numbers, and to increase their zeal.

[1] Berghen died of grief in 1567, not without suspicion of poison; and Montigni was privately executed in prison in 1570.

CHAP. XI.

The iconoclasts. 1566.

At length, maddened by their hatred of a persecuting Church, the people rose in the principal cities throughout the Netherlands, and destroyed the sacred emblems of Catholic worship. The noble churches were desecrated, their pictures and statues defaced, their costly monuments of marble and precious stones demolished. The inquisitors were exterminating thousands of men and women: the furious multitude were destroying the proud works of human genius. Religious hatreds, thus exacerbated, threatened civil war. Armed bodies of Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists, thirsted for each others' blood. At Antwerp they were only restrained from deadly conflict, by the influence and judgment of the Prince of Orange.

The Duke of Alva.

The people were now threatened with a darker doom. Philip had resolved to rule his rebellious subjects with a stronger hand; and Alva was coming to the Netherlands, with a Spanish army. It was his mission to trample out rebellion and heresy with his soldiery; and how was he to be resisted? The Prince of Orange knew but too well the fate which was impending over his country: but he stood alone. He had not one foreign ally: the confederation of frivolous nobles who had made merry as 'beggars' was dissolved: Counts Egmont and Horn,—the foremost men of the Netherlands, next to the Prince himself,—still put their trust in Philip, and would not raise the standard of revolt against him: the provinces were without concert or preparation; and the people without arms or discipline. If nobles and people had cordially united under the Prince, Alva might possibly have been held at bay: but resistance was now hopeless. The Prince retired into exile, in time to escape the death to which Philip had

already sentenced him.[1] In vain he warned Counts Egmont and Horn of their danger. They relied upon their own loyalty, and public services, and the good faith of their king; and their confidence was repaid by the forfeiture of their lives, upon the scaffold.

His cruelties. 1567.

Alva at once established a revolting tyranny,—to be execrated in all ages. His devilish 'council of blood' struck terror into the hearts of the people. Its mission was to punish all persons concerned in the late troubles: it was supreme over all other courts: it was restrained by no laws but its own will: it took cognisance of all offences committed, or even not prevented; and every act of opposition to the government,—even the signing of petitions for redress,—was condemned as high treason, and punished with death. It may be briefly described, indeed, as a State Inquisition. Its commissioners were despatched all over the country to discover delinquents; and upon their reports the council promptly decided. In three months this dread tribunal had doomed to death no less than 1,800 victims. Men of high rank and character, and acknowledged loyalty, suffered death for their patriotism or humanity. Not to have approved of every measure of Philip's tyranny was high treason. To be rich was a dangerous crime, for confiscations formed the greater part of Alva's financial resources. Crowds would have fled from the accursed land of their birth: but the 'butcher' Alva had closed every outlet, and held his victims firmly in his toils. There was terror and mourning throughout the land: every household was stricken and sorrowful: the whole nation was in tears. No crime so great had yet disgraced the history of

[1] Motley, *Dutch Republic*, ii. 92.

CHAP. XI.

Christendom. Many had been the crimes of tyranny and bigotry: but none,—not even those of the Inquisition itself,—could equal, in calculating malignity, this concerted crime of Philip and Alva.

Alva as Governor-General.

The heart of Philip was gladdened by the wretchedness of his people; and Alva was rewarded for the innocent blood he had shed. The Duchess of Parma retired from the sickening scene; and Alva ruled supreme as governor-general of the provinces The council had been indefatigable: but blood enough had not yet been shed; and the Spanish Inquisition came to Alva's aid. By a sentence of that holy court,[1]—which reads like a solemn pleasantry,—all the inhabitants of the Netherlands were condemned to death, as heretics. It was followed by a royal proclamation, directing the sentence to be immediately executed, without respect for age or station.[2] This monstrous sentence did not aim at extermination: but it conferred absolute power over the lives of every man, woman and child in the Netherlands, without proof of heresy, without trial, without a hearing. Why should any be heard? Were they not already condemned? They who escaped their doom, were to be accounted fortunate. And thus blood flowed out; and Alva's exchequer flourished. It was the work of demons, profaning the name of religion.

Outlawry of the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of Orange, though out of the realm, was cited before the blood council, condemned and outlawed. His property was confiscated, and his eldest son seized at the college of Louvain and sent captive into Spain. He published a noble 'justification' of himself;

[1] February 16, 1568.
[2] Motley, *Dutch Republic*, ii. 158.

CHAP. XI.

and proclaimed to the world the wrongs of his suffering country. Meanwhile he had resolved to do battle with the tyrant: he was appealing to the sympathies of the Protestant provinces of Germany: he was in correspondence with England, and with the Huguenots of France: he was raising money and enlisting troops. He sold his own plate, jewels and furniture; and he gathered subscriptions from princes, nobles, cities and private individuals. He was absolutely without personal ambition: he was no revolutionary leader: but he was striving to restore the liberties of his country, and to resist tyranny and persecution. 1568.

Alva was now threatened with an invasion to rescue the Netherlands from his grasp. Never were troops led to fight in a nobler, or a holier cause,—the rescue of a whole people from oppression. But the incidents of the long struggle between the patriot Prince and the Spaniards cannot be related here. The first campaign, with the exception of a single victory by Prince Louis of Nassau, was disastrous: the invading forces were routed and destroyed; and Alva was stronger and fiercer than ever. The Prince's friends were discouraged, and advised him to desist from further efforts: the Emperor Maximilian commanded him to lay down his arms: but the heroic William was not to be turned aside from his great mission, by defeat and dangers.

The Prince's toleration.

The cause he had espoused was now doubly sacred in his eyes. Hitherto he had striven as a patriot to save his country from persecution: but he had now renounced the Catholic Church; and the martyred Protestants were of his own brotherhood. His faith was grave and earnest, as became his great soul: but

CHAP. XI.

he was superior to the fanaticism of his age. While yet a Catholic, he had protected Protestants; and now his toleration embraced Catholics, and every sect of reformers. In an age of narrow bigotry, he stood alone as the champion of religious liberty. Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists and Anabaptists were ready to burn one another: but he was resolute to protect them all alike.

Continued oppression. 1569.

The council and the Inquisition still thirsted for more blood: but executions had ceased to be productive to the revenue. The richest men had already perished: commerce and industry had been stricken by the reign of terror. Alva was, therefore, driven to financial expedients less simple than confiscation. He assembled the Estates, and demanded taxes which would have utterly ruined their trade.[1] Overawed by Alva, they were, at first, disposed to assent to this ruinous taxation: but ultimately they obtained a commutation. Utrecht, more resolute in its resistance, was cruelly punished for its contumacy.

An amnesty. 1570.

Philip and Alva were, at length, shamed into an amnesty. Not that they were weary of shedding blood: but the country was desolated; and its sufferings had become a scandal throughout Europe. To save appearances, therefore, an act of grace was proclaimed, by which none were pardoned. In the words of Mr. Motley, 'the innocent were alone forgiven.' It was a cruel mockery of the wretched people; and no one was deceived by its merciful pretences.

Revolt of the Netherlands, 1571.

Alva now revived his ruinous scheme of taxation, which was everywhere resisted. The crushed people

[1] Among them was a tax of ten per cent. on every sale of merchandise.

were almost goaded to revolt, when a timely diversion was made in their favour, by a descent of privateers, in the service of the Prince of Orange, upon the coast of Holland, and the occupation of Walcheren. At length there was hope for the people: city after city rose up against its magistrates and raised the Prince's banner: Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Utrecht were soon entirely his own. He was proclaimed stadtholder: but allegiance was sworn to the king of Spain.

Congress of Dort.

At a congress of the northern provinces at Dort, the Prince obtained liberal supplies, and raised an army. He marched boldly onwards: many cities,—Mechlin among the number,—declared in his favour: he was supported by auxiliary forces from France, whence he was promised other reinforcements. Mons had been seized by a successful raid of Count Louis of Nassau; and he seemed on the point of reconquering the Netherlands from its oppressors, when his prospects were suddenly darkened by the astounding intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It was a heavy blow to the Protestant cause, and destroyed all hope of further assistance from France.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Orange retires to Holland.

Again was the Prince obliged to disband his army, and retire into Holland, leaving Mons and Mechlin to the savage vengeance of Alva, while other cities again bowed their necks before the conqueror. Flanders and Brabant were soon subdued: but the contest continued to rage in Holland. The sieges of Harlem and Alkmaar are memorable in history, for the heroic courage and endurance of their citizens,—worthy of the great cause for which they fought.

1572-73.

His activity.

With some brilliant successes, but many grievous losses, the Prince still maintained his ground, in the

CHAP. XI.

northern provinces, with straitened resources: seeking everywhere for help, and as yet finding none. Without advisers or agents, he performed all the labours of the State; and he was in correspondence with most of the courts of Europe. He was often grieved by the excesses of his own followers, who had caught the contagion of Spanish ferocity: but he was ever constant and hopeful. The two great purposes of his life were freedom of conscience, and the recovery of the ancient liberties of the commonwealth.

Retirement of Alva. 1573.

His hopes were soon to be raised, once more, by the retirement of the tyrant Alva from the scene of his cruelties. He had been faithful to his master: he had not spared the rod, but his victims were not reduced to slavery by his chastisements: he had slain multitudes, in battles and sieges: his rule had been signalised by more than eighteen thousand executions: he had scourged the land with confiscation, pillage, and the outrages of a brutal soldiery: but the Prince of Orange still defied his power, and Protestants had multiplied. He had wrung ruinous taxes from the people: but his treasury was empty, and his troops were without pay. His name had become a reproach throughout Europe: yet his cruel mission had proved a failure.

Don Luis de Requesens.

With a new governor, some change in the fortunes of the country might be hoped for; and Don Luis de Requesens, grand commander of Castile, was believed to be coming to rule by conciliation and clemency. To gain time and to deceive and divide his enemies, he 1573-74. favoured the illusion, and talked of an amnesty: but no such purpose was in the gloomy mind of Philip, who would grant no pardon to heretics. After many months, a mock amnesty was issued, granting pardon

to all who should become reconciled to the Church of Rome. It was received with scorn by the stout Calvinists of Holland.

The siege of Leyden.

Meanwhile, the war was continued with varying fortunes. At sea the patriot fleets were victorious: but on land an army under Count Louis was cut to pieces; and that gallant commander, the very right hand of Orange, and his brother Count Henry, lost their lives. But the great event of this period was the remarkable siege of Leyden—unique in history. The courage and constancy of its citizens: the marvellous strategy of the Prince of Orange, who called in the ocean waves to circumvent the besieging Spaniards: the devotion of the husbandmen, who cheerfully gave up their lands and houses to the devouring flood: the advance of Admiral Boissot's fleet, over fields, through dykes, and under fortresses bristling with cannon, to the relief of the beleaguered city; and the solemn thanksgiving of the survivors of the siege, are incidents which have consecrated, for all time, this heroic struggle, and its holy cause.

Negotiations for peace. 1575.

At the instance of the Emperor Maximilian negotiations for peace were now commenced; and conferences were held at Breda to arrange its terms. But the obstinate bigotry of the king rendered them hopeless. The people of Holland and Zealand had now become Protestants: few Catholics were to be found amongst them: yet Philip insisted that the Catholic faith should be restored throughout the Netherlands. One concession, indeed, he made to Protestants. They were permitted to sell their goods, and leave the country. In other words, the inhabitants of the entire provinces were to submit to confiscation and banishment! The

CHAP. XI.

conferences were broken off, and the civil war continued. To strengthen the national cause, the union of Holland and Zealand was agreed upon, and the Prince of Orange became the ruler of the United Provinces. This was followed by the unanimous resolution of the nobles and cities, assembled in a Diet at Delft, to renounce their allegiance to the king, and to seek foreign assistance. They had no thought of founding a republic: but were ready to submit themselves to some other monarch, less bigoted and cruel than Philip.

Allegiance to Philip renounced.

The sudden death of De Requesens placed the government, for a time, under the State council of Brussels, and afforded a brief interval of repose to the distracted provinces. The Prince redoubled his efforts to strengthen the national party. At the congress of Delft, he reconstituted the union of Holland and Zealand, upon a representative basis: the reformed faith was established, but no man was to be troubled on account of his belief or conscience; and supreme, if not dictatorial, authority was conferred upon the Prince himself. Here was laid the foundation of the future republic.

The Congress of Delft.

April, 1576.

Help was urgently needed from abroad. The country had been laid waste by war, and the truculent severities of the Spaniards: its resources in men and money were unequal to the conflict with its oppressors. But help there was none. The Queen of Protestant England was profuse in expressions of goodwill, but held her purse-strings tight: in France, attempts to conciliate the Huguenots had raised the hopes of the Prince, without present result: in Germany there was coldness towards the Protestant cause, and

Foreign aid withheld.

bitterness between rival sects; and the Prince's unceasing diplomacy was unfruitful. CHAP. XI.

Mutiny of Spanish troops.

And now there came a new and unexpected scourge upon the people. The Spanish troops, which had been so long the bloody agents of oppression, had grievances of their own. They had done their hateful work, but were denied their pay. There had already been mutinies for the same cause: and, at length, the whole army was in revolt, and preparing to pay itself by general pillage. That such savages should be let loose upon a defenceless people was a fearful evil: but it held out hopes for the popular cause.

Congress of Ghent.

With a mutinous army, the government was reduced to impotence; and the universal hatred of the Spanish soldiery, might prove the ground of union among all the provinces. The Prince, with his usual sagacity, seized the occasion, and assembled a congress of all the provincial Estates at Ghent: the state council at Brussels was arrested; and, for a time, the Spanish rule seemed at an end. But the terrible soldiery were, in the midst of the people, like unchained devils,— plundering, murdering, ravishing. Maestricht was sacked, and its people butchered. The opulent city of Antwerp, however, suffered most from their brutality: it was wantonly set on fire, and its finest buildings burned to ashes: its citizens were murdered by thousands, their women outraged, and their property stolen, wasted and destroyed. This devils' work was execrated as the 'Spanish Fury,'—a wrong never to be forgotten or forgiven.

The Spanish Fury. 1576.

Pacification of Ghent. Nov. 8, 1576.

This awful tragedy quickened the deliberations of the congress; and on November 8, a treaty between the several provinces was agreed to, known as the

CHAP. XI.

pacification of Ghent. The provinces bound themselves to unite in expelling the foreign soldiery: the Protestant faith was established in Holland and Zealand, and entitled to toleration in the other provinces; and the Inquisition was condemned. This treaty, confirmed by popular acclamation, seemed the commencement of a new era in the sad history of the Netherlands.

Concessions of Don John of Austria.

On the arrival of the new governor, Don John of Austria, the Estates were able to dictate conditions to his assumption of the government. They forced him to agree to the departure of the foreign troops; and the Spanish forces were actually sent away. They extorted from him a colourable adherence to the pacification of Ghent, and promises to maintain the charters and constitutions of the Netherlands. But, on their side, they bound themselves to maintain the Catholic faith, and to disband their troops.[1] The Prince of Orange was ill pleased with these conditions. He distrusted the governor: he saw deceit and artifice in his concessions; and was indignant that securities were wanting for the Protestant faith. In vain Don John attempted to gain over the Prince, by fair promises. The leader of the patriot party was not to be moved from his watchful and vigorous resistance to Philip, either by offers of personal rewards, or by hollow professions of lenity to his people.

Continued efforts of the Prince.

Don John, however, by his concessions, secured his acknowledgment as governor, and endeavoured to win popularity by mixing freely with the people. The Prince, meanwhile, was striving to strengthen his party in the States. He gained little support from the

[1] The Perpetual Edict, signed February 17, 1577.

CHAP. XI.

nobles, who, however much opposed to the Spaniards, were fearful of taking an active part against the government, and were generally Catholics. But he found the heartiest sympathy, and most courageous self-sacrifice, from the middle classes. It was among them that the Reformation had taken root: they suffered most in their trade and industry, from the oppression of the Spaniards; and they were animated by the same love of freedom as their burgher ancestors. There lay the Prince's strength; and there has been found the spring and source of liberty, in all ages and in all countries.

His ascendency.

As the governor's power was weakened, the Prince of Orange recovered his ascendency throughout the provinces. He was invited to Brussels by the Estates: he was received everywhere in triumph; and was elected to the ancient office of Ruward of Brabant, and Stadtholder of Flanders. The Netherlands were again under his rule. Even in the more Catholic provinces, the people were on his side: but the nobles were plotting against him. They endeavoured to supplant him, by inviting the Archduke Matthias to assume the government: but their intrigues were counteracted by the prudence and self-denial of the Prince, who was willing to take for himself a second place. Again and again was he obliged to deplore the inconstancy and treachery of the nobles. Even when they offered resistance to the government, they were rash, precipitate and violent, and did little to sustain his general policy. His sole reliance was upon the people.

New Union of Brussels. 1578.

The Estates were persuaded by the Prince of Orange to adopt a remarkable act of toleration. The Pacification of Ghent had recognised the toleration of reformers:

CHAP. XI.

the New Union of Brussels bound all communions to protect each other from persecution. The Estates also agreed to a free representative constitution of the Netherlands. It was a great triumph of the Prince's policy: but it was short-lived. In presence of the Spanish power, the State was not to be governed by the resolutions of a congress, but by the sword. The Prince's diplomacy and recent successes had, at length, secured promises of aid from Elizabeth of England. It was the beginning of that course of meanness, irresolution, deceit and treachery, by which the Queen brought discredit upon herself, and embarrassment to the Netherlands. As yet, however, the Prince had nothing but native levies and mercenaries, commanded by nobles, unskilful in war, and of doubtful loyalty to himself and to his cause. A few weeks after the Union of Brussels, these forces were utterly destroyed in the disastrous battle of Gemblours; and the Netherlands seemed again at the mercy of the Spanish governor.

The Prince of Parma.

The Prince was expecting help from England and from France, when one other hope was found, for the national cause, in the illness and death of Don John of Austria. This hope, however, was doomed to speedy disappointment. Don John was succeeded by the Prince of Parma, the ablest and most politic of all the governors by whom the Netherlands had yet been ruled. The English contingent,—unpaid and demoralized,—was soon broken up; and the Duke d'Alençon disbanded his French troops, and retired into France. Meanwhile, the new governor, with Italian subtlety, was undermining the confederacy by corruption. The Catholic nobles of the South were jealous of the Prince of Orange: they had no sympathy for the people: they

CHAP. XI.

were estranged, by their religion, from the national cause; and they foresaw more profit from the king of Spain, than from a popular stadtholder. Tempted by high rewards, they were able to detach the five Walloon provinces[1] from the union. The inhabitants were chiefly Catholics, of Celtic blood, and alien tongue; and they were an agricultural people, with little of the intelligence of the commercial provinces of the North. 1579. They readily followed their faithless leaders, and withdrew from the national union, which they had so recently joined. This schism was a greater triumph to absolutism, and the Catholic Church, than any which the arms of Alva had effected.

The Union of Utrecht.

This perilous defection was immediately met by the Union of Utrecht, by which the Prince of Orange brought together the seven provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Zutphen, and the two Frisian provinces, into a league which was eventually to grow into the republic of the United Netherlands. In this, as in every other act of the Prince, the principle of civil and religious liberty was maintained; all local constitutions being upheld, and freedom of conscience respected.

Attempts to seduce Orange. 1579.

The diplomacy of Parma was seconded by equal vigour in arms. Maestricht fell, after a defence as heroic as that of Harlem or Leyden, and was punished with a truculent severity, worthy of Alva himself. Encouraged by his success with the nobles, Parma next approached the Prince of Orange with offers of high reward: but that noble soul put them aside as treason to his country. His trusted friends, men whose wrongs might have secured their constancy, were seduced from his side by bribes and high commands: he was sur-

[1] Viz. Hainault, Artois, Lille, Douay, and Orchies.

CHAP. XI.

rounded by treachery: but—ruined and afflicted as he was—he was proof against every interest but that of his noble cause.

His excommunication by the king. 1580.

Finding Orange superior to the subtle arts of Parma, the king now tried intimidation. He had long since favoured the secret assassination of his foe; and now he fulminated against him a ban of civil excommunication.[1] He denounced him as an enemy to the human race: gave his property to anyone who should seize it; and offered 25,000 crowns, and a title of nobility, as reward for his assassination. This infamous edict,—infamous even in a king already stained by every crime,—was nobly answered by the Prince, in an 'apology,' in which he proudly vindicated himself and his cause; and hurled defiance and rebuke at his oppressor.

The Prince's 'apology.'

Wavering allegiance of the northern provinces.

Hitherto the national party had continued to profess allegiance to the Spanish crown: but when all hope of concessions had passed away, they began to discuss, with freedom, the reciprocal rights and duties of princes and their subjects. Forfeiture of hereditary right, by crimes against the people, was boldly maintained by the Prince in his apology; and it was plain that the northern provinces would soon declare their independence.

The Prince declines the government. 1580.

Whatever the form of their government,—whether constitutional monarchy, or republic,—there was but one man fit to rule them: the patriot Prince who had achieved their freedom. With a magnanimity peculiar to himself, the Prince renounced his proper place in the commonwealth. He had sacrificed everything for his country; and now that the highest reward of a patriot statesman,—the power by which he could best serve

[1] Dated March 15, 1580: but not published until June.

his countrymen,—was pressed upon him, he waved it aside as a bauble, and offered humble service to the State.

His motives.

This self-sacrifice was due, however, not to any want of confidence in himself,—not to any shrinking from peril or responsibility,—not even to fear of misconstruction by his enemies, — but to a desire to strengthen his alliance with foreign States. With this view he promoted an arrangement for securing the sovereignty of D'Alençon, now Duke d'Anjou. He hoped thus to obtain the support of France and England against Spain: for Elizabeth was now coquetting with the Duke, and their union was believed to be assured.

Independence of the provinces proclaimed.

Holland and Zealand would submit to no ruler but their own beloved Prince: but the other provinces accepted the sovereignty of Anjou; and on July 26, 1581, the provinces at length solemnly declared their independence, by an act of abjuration, proclaiming the king lawfully deposed, for his tyranny, and the violation of the laws and franchises of the people. There was no pompous assertion of the abstract rights of the people: but a simple deposition of a sovereign who had broken his contract with them, and had forfeited his power by misrule. Its example was to be followed, in England, upon the same principles, a century later. But the provinces were divided. The Prince, who might have united them under his own rule, was with difficulty induced to accept the temporary government of Holland and Zealand, while the other provinces were left to the French prince. A republic was not yet established in name: but it was, at least, a State, or Commonwealth, without a king.

It was not intended that the Duke d'Anjou should

CHAP. XI.

The Duke d'Anjou.

be invested with more than a high dignity, and nominal power: but it was a disastrous choice. The alliance proved worthless: his match with Elizabeth was ridiculously broken off; and his own conduct was to prove inconceivably base and treacherous. He was, however, received with great rejoicings, and he swore to observe the ancient charters and constitutions of the provinces. How he kept his oath will be seen presently.

Attempted assassination of Orange.

The Prince of Orange, meanwhile, was beset with dangers. The ban was beginning to bear its fruits. On March 18, 1582, he was wounded, almost to death, by a hired assassin. A bankrupt merchant Anastro had bargained with Philip to get the murder done for 80,000 ducats, and the cross of Santiago. The wretch himself escaped: his instrument was cut to pieces for his crime; and other agents in the plot were executed.

He becomes Count of Holland.

The Prince survived; and his countrymen loved and trusted him more than ever. They now insisted upon his acceptance of the office of Count of Holland, which constituted him hereditary ruler of Holland and Zealand. His powers, however, were limited by a singularly free constitution. He derived his authority from the people; and all his powers were to be exercised subject to their representative Estates. This constitution was the work of his own hands: he sought no dominion for himself: but political liberty, justice, and freedom of conscience for his countrymen. The great aims of his policy were so far fulfilled, in his own little commonwealth.

His liberal policy.

Treason of the Duke d'Anjou.

How different the lot of the provinces which had done homage to Anjou! They were soon overrun again with Spanish troops; and the Duke, their sworn protector, was plotting to seize the chief cities, and

to hold them for the French crown. His treason was at first successful: he took possession of Dunkirk, Ostend, and some other towns: but was foiled in an attempt upon Bruges; and routed in a shameful raid on Antwerp. This ignoble enterprise was called the 'French Fury,' and revealed to the world the falsehood, treachery, and cowardice of Anjou. The Netherlands had sought a powerful friend; and had found a scourge as fierce as the Spaniards. This base prince, discovered and thwarted in his treason, denied his guilt, while he was bargaining with Spain for the sale of the towns he had surprised. Covered with infamy, if not with shame, he quitted the country, and died, not long afterwards, in France.

January 1583.

The 'French Fury.'

The provinces, which had been thus betrayed, again besought the Prince of Orange, their natural and trusted chief, to assume the government; and again his modesty, self-denial and freedom from ambition, held him back from a great mission. It is the duty of the foremost man in a State, to assume its highest responsibilities; and the Prince's shrinking from that duty was his only shortcoming, in a noble life of public service. Foreign alliances had hitherto brought nothing but disappointment and disaster. The union of the State, under such a ruler as Orange, would have served his country better than the intrigues of France, and the broken promises of Elizabeth.

Orange again refuses the government.

But the career of this great man was now drawing to a close. His unscrupulous enemies had doomed him to death: they could not conquer him in war, or diplomacy, but they could bribe assassins to take his life. He had escaped assassination by poison, at Bruges, in July 1582; when the assassins confessed

His assassination.

CHAP. XI.

that they had been hired by the Duke of Parma.[1] Three other attempts were made upon his life, in little more than twelve months; and many bravos had received blood-money from the Spanish government, without giving work for their wages. At length the right man was found, in one Gérard. While coveting the rewards promised for his crime, he was a fanatic who believed that he was doing service unto God. Too well did the wretch carry out his plot; and on July 10, 1584, the noble patriot was slain, in his own house at Delft, and in the midst of his family. The assassin suffered death: but his parents received the rewards of his crime, being ennobled by Philip, and endowed out of the estates of the murdered Prince. It was reserved for a king, so stained with crimes, to attain this crowning infamy!

He was the apostle of civil and religious liberty.

Thus died the patriot, the soldier, the statesman, the orator and diplomatist, who had dedicated his life to his country, and to the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty. He was the first statesman in Europe who had proclaimed the doctrines of freedom of conscience: he was the first to teach the great political lesson that the rights of kings are forfeited by tyranny, and that subjects may lawfully take up arms to resist oppression. Such doctrines practically maintained, in the sixteenth century, laid the foundation of European liberties. The man himself was worthy to be the apostle of such a cause. Pious, earnest, simple, constant, self-denying, generous, and brave, he stands forth as a central figure in history, a noble representative of liberty. In his age, absolutism also had its representatives, in the Emperor Charles V., Philip

[1] The Duke d'Anjou was to have been poisoned at the same time.

of Spain, and Charles IX. of France. If a cause may be judged by the character of the men who espouse it, the cause of William of Orange will not suffer by the contrast.

Events succeeding his death.

The Netherlands mourned the loss of their great leader with indignant sorrow: but they had been trained to freedom: their courage was high: their hatred of the Spaniards was sublimed by this crowning wrong; and they resolved to wage war against their tyrant unto death. The states-general of the provinces not yet recovered by Spain,[1] appointed an executive state council, under the presidency of Prince Maurice, the second son and representative of William of Orange,—a noble youth of seventeen, who afterwards succeeded his father as stadtholder. It was a small 1585. State to resist the richest and most powerful kingdom in Europe; and was soon reduced by the defection or conquest of the parts of Flanders and Brabant which had hitherto held out against Parma. Ghent, Brussels and Mechlin capitulated; and Antwerp surrendered, after one of the most eventful sieges in history. The sad northern provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Utrecht alone remained to constitute the new republic.

Search for foreign alliances.

It was natural that so small a State, wasted by its protracted struggles, should desire, more earnestly than ever, an alliance with some stronger power; and it was among States supposed to have sympathies with Protestants, that such an alliance was sought. From the Protestant countries of Germany there was no

[1] Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Utrecht, and parts of Flanders and Brabant.

CHAP. XI.

promise of help; and the eyes of the Dutch diplomatists were therefore turned towards France and England.

Negotiations with France.

In France, the Huguenots, having recovered from St. Bartholomew, now enjoyed toleration; and were a rising and hopeful party, under the patronage of Henry of Navarre. If the king of France would protect Holland from Philip, and extend to its people the same toleration which he allowed his own subjects, Holland offered him the sovereignty of the united provinces. This tempting offer was declined: for a new policy was now to be declared, which united France and Spain in a bigoted crusade against the Protestant faith. The League, under the Duke de Guise, gained a fatal ascendency over the weak and frivolous king, Henry III., and held dominion in France. Henceforth the Catholic worship alone was to be allowed; and heretics were to be punished with death and forfeiture. After six months, all who had not conformed to the Church were doomed to banishment for life.[1] Nor was the baneful influence of the League confined to France: it formed a close alliance with Philip and the Pope, with whom it was plotting the overthrow of Protestant England, the subjection of the revolted provinces of Spain, and the general extirpation of heresy throughout Europe. War was declared, by absolutism and the Church of Rome, against civil and religious liberty.

Bigoted policy of France. 1585.

League against the Protestant faith.

Negotiations with England.

The only hope of the Netherlands was now in England, which was threatened by a common danger; and envoys were sent to Elizabeth with offers of the sovereignty, which had been declined by France. So little did the Dutch statesmen as yet contemplate a

[1] Edict of Nantes, July 18, 1585.

republic, that they offered their country to any sovereign, in return for protection. CHAP. XI.

Had bolder counsels prevailed, Elizabeth might, at once, have saved the Netherlands, and placed herself at the head of the Protestants of Europe. She saw her own danger, if Philip should recover the provinces: but she held her purse-strings with the grasp of a miser: she dreaded an open rupture with Spain; and she was unwilling to provoke her own Catholic subjects. Sympathy with the Protestant cause, she had none. She discountenanced Catholics, because they denied her supremacy, and plotted against her life and throne: but she was indifferent to the Church of England, and hated the Calvinists. Her royal instincts were also naturally opposed to a rebellious people. Accordingly, in negotiating with Holland, she desired to afford as much assistance as would protect her own realm against Philip, at the least possible cost, without precipitating a war with Spain. She agreed to send men and money: but required Flushing, Brill, and Rammekens to be held as a security for her loans. She refused the sovereignty of the States: but she despatched troops to the Netherlands, and sent her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, to command them. As she had taken the rebellious subjects of Spain under her protection, Philip retaliated by the seizure of British ships. Spanish vengeance was not averted, while the Netherlands profited little by her aid. The English expedition failed: the Netherlands were disheartened and suspicious: Elizabeth's scheming missed its mark; and Philip was planning the invasion of England.[1] Views of Elizabeth.

The fortunes of Holland were at their lowest point, when a momentous event suddenly opened a prospect The Spanish Armada.

[1] See Froude, 'Hist. of England,' xii. 137, 368, 378, 412.

CHAP. XI.

of deliverance. The Spanish Armada, which Philip had prepared to ruin England and the Netherlands, with one blow, had been routed and dispersed into the North Seas, by the British fleet. Spain was humbled; and the cause of absolutism and bigotry was cast down.

The Spaniards in France. 1589.

Other critical events were also promising well for the liberties of Holland. France was torn by anarchy and civil wars. The king had destroyed or imprisoned the leaders of the League, and had been himself assassinated: Catharine de Medicis was dead: Henry of Navarre—the idol of the Huguenots—was in arms, claiming the crown, by hereditary right: Philip of Spain was fighting to gain it for himself or his daughter the Infanta. It was now Philip's dream to conquer France; and thence to take vengeance upon England, and to recover the united provinces. All his efforts were to be first concentrated upon France; and the Duke of Parma was withdrawn from his charge in Flanders, to fight the king's battles upon French soil. His absence offered the Netherlands an unexpected opportunity of dealing heavy blows against the Spaniards. With their accustomed gallantry, and signal military skill, they soon profited by the occasion.

Absence of Parma from the Netherlands.

Prince Maurice.

The young stadtholder, Prince Maurice, rising from his boyish studies, proved himself at once a consummate general. He reorganised the army, with the ripe judgment of a veteran, far in advance of the military system of his own age. In coolness, courage, and scientific strategy, he had no equal save his experienced enemy, the Duke of Parma. Ably supported by Olden-Barneveld, and other shrewd and vigorous councillors of the Republic, he resolved to recover all the fortified

towns still held by the Spaniards, in and near the united provinces. He surprised Breda: he took Zutphen, Deventer, Nymegen, and many other towns; and the death of Parma opened fresh prospects of victory. CHAP. XI. 1590–1592.

Meanwhile, Philip's French enterprise had failed. The dashing and unscrupulous Henry of Navarre had won his crown, by conforming to the Catholic faith. Already the most popular and powerful of the rival candidates, he thus removed the only bar to his claims: while he assured his Huguenot friends of protection, and freedom in their worship. Great was the shock, given by his politic apostacy, to the religious sentiments of Europe: but it was fatal to the ambition of Philip; and again the Netherlands could count upon the friendship of a king of France. Their own needs were great: but the gallant little republic still found means to assist the Protestant champion against their common enemy, the king of Spain. Henry of Navarre becomes King of France.

In the Netherlands the Spanish power was declining. The feeble successors of Parma were no match for Maurice of Nassau and the republican leaders: the Spanish troops were starving and mutinous: the provinces under Spanish rule were reduced to wretchedness and beggary. Cities and fortresses fell, one after another, into the hands of the stadtholder. The Dutch fleet joined that of England in a raid upon Spain itself, captured and sacked Cadiz, raised the flag of the republic on the battlements of that famous city; and left the Spanish fleet burning in the harbour. Decline of the Spanish power. 1594. 1595–1597.

Other events followed, deeply affecting the fortunes of the republic. Philip at length made peace with Henry of Navarre, and was again free to coerce his Death of Philip of Spain.

CHAP. XI.

1598.

revolted provinces. But his accursed rule was drawing to a close. In 1598 he made over the sovereignty of the Netherlands to the Infanta Isabella and her affianced husband, the Archduke Albert, who had cast aside his cardinal's hat, his archbishopric, and his priestly vows of celibacy, for a consort so endowed. Philip had ceased to reign in the Netherlands; and a few months afterwards he closed his evil life, in the odour of sanctity,—assured that he had done no man wrong, and needed no repentance.

Prosperity of the republic.

The tyrant was dead: the little republic, which he had scourged so cruelly, was living and prosperous. Throughout its trials, the sturdy citizens, masters of the sea, and trained to commerce and maritime enterprise, had extended their ventures far and wide, and had grown in wealth, and lucrative industry. The population was recruited by immigrants from the less favoured provinces. They had no democratic theories or sentiments: but in resisting tyranny they had become, by force of circumstances, a republic; and their robust spirit of freedom displayed itself in all the acts of the commonwealth. While the despotic Philip, with all his vast possessions, was starving his soldiers, and repudiating his debts, this brave little citizen-state was bringing model armies into the field, was sending forth its fleets to victory, and its merchant-ships to discover new realms, and to trade with the whole world. It was helping the Protestant cause in France with men and money; and was speeding its blunt, outspoken envoys to the French king and English queen, to combat, with truth and earnestness, the artful diplomacy of crowned heads. While in the other States of Europe religious persecution raged, or toleration was only fitful and in-

secure, freedom of conscience had been founded for ever, in this land of civil and religious liberty. Nor were its rulers less careful of the intellectual culture of the people, than of their material welfare. The renowned University of Leyden was founded for the learned education of the rich, and free schools were established for the general instruction of all classes.

State of the Spanish provinces.

Far different was the lot of the ill-fated provinces still in the grasp of the tyrant. The land lay waste and desolate: its inhabitants had fled to England or Holland, or were reduced to want and beggary. Antwerp was ruined, and its commerce transferred to Amsterdam: weeds grew in the streets of Ghent and Bruges, which had once been thronged with crowds of thriving citizens. Merchants and artificers had been driven forth from a land, where their lives and property were held at the will of their oppressors, and where industry was blighted by war and rapine. England, France, and Holland were already profiting by their skill and enterprise: while Spain had lost the best of her own subjects, and the most fruitful sources of her wealth.

Constitution of the republic.

As the government of the republic was founded on the ancient constitutions of the provinces, it was municipal rather than popular. The states-general, which exercised supreme authority, even over the state-council itself, consisted of delegates from the provincial assemblies. These assemblies again were chosen by the municipal magistrates of the different cities, who were themselves self-elected. Nowhere was there popular election: the representation was municipal throughout. The few nobles in the republic had a voice in the provincial assemblies and in the states-general, as supposed

CHAP. XI.

representatives of the rural districts and smaller towns: but the greater number had left their northern home, and were in the councils, or armies of the king. Thus the entire power of the State was in the hands of the middle classes. From among themselves they elected magistrates and delegates, and so ruled their citizen-state. In theory it was far from being a model republic: but as yet, the interests of the community were bound up in a common cause; and the staid burghers governed with honesty and patriotism.

Further events.

That the republic should have outlived its chief oppressor, was an event of happy augury: but years of trial and danger were still to be passed through. The victory of Nieuport raised Prince

1600. Maurice's fame, as a soldier, to its highest point; and the gallant defence of Ostend, for upwards of three years, against the Spaniards, proved that the courage

1601–1604. and endurance of his soldiers, had not declined during the protracted war. At sea the Dutch fleets won new victories over the Spaniards and Portuguese; and privateers made constant ravages upon the enemy's

1604–1606. commerce. But there were also failures and reverses, on the side of the republic, dissensions among its leaders, and anxieties concerning the attitude of foreign States.

Approach of peace. 1607.

And thus, with varied fortunes, this momentous war had now continued for upwards of forty years. On both sides, the foremost men of two generations had passed away: tens of thousands had lost their lives in battles and sieges: all had undergone privations and suffering. The republic could only maintain the struggle by great sacrifices: the Spaniards obtained little succour from Madrid, or revenue from the wasted

provinces. Their neglected troops were in constant mutiny. On land, the prospects of the two parties were fairly balanced, and promised interminable war. At sea the Dutch had a decided and increasing superiority. On both sides there was a desire for peace. The Dutch would accept nothing short of unconditional independence: the Spaniards almost despaired of reducing them to subjection, while they dreaded more republican victories at sea, and the extension of Dutch maritime enterprise in the East. CHAP. XI.

Overtures for peace were first made cautiously and secretly by the archdukes,[1] and received by the States with grave distrust. Jealous and haughty was the bearing of the republic, in the negotiations which ensued. The states-general, in full session, represented Holland, and received the Spanish envoys. The independence of the States was accepted, on both sides, as the basis of any treaty: but, as a preliminary to the negotiations, the republic insisted upon its formal recognition, as a free and equal State, in words dictated by itself; and upon the consent of the king of Spain. Full of diplomatic wiles and subterfuges, the Spaniards in vain attempted to evade these conditions. They were foiled by the firmness, and straightforward purposes of the states-general. The proud little republic dictated its own conditions to the archdukes; and at length an armistice was signed, in order to arrange the terms of a treaty of peace. It was a welcome breathing time: but peace was still beset with difficulties and obstacles. The Spaniards were insincere: they could not bring themselves to treat seriously, and in good faith, with heretics and rebels: they desired the re- Negotiations for peace. May 4, 1607.

[1] This was the title of the archduke and archduchess.

CHAP. XI.

establishment of the Church of Rome; and they claimed the exclusive right of trading with the East and West Indies. The councils of the republic were also divided. Barneveldt, the civilian, was bent upon peace: Prince Maurice, the soldier, was burning for the renewal of the war. But Barneveldt and the peace party prevailed, and negotiations were continued. Again and again, the armistice was renewed: but a treaty of peace seemed as remote as ever.

The twelve years' truce. 1609.

At length, after infinite disputes, a truce for twelve years was agreed upon. In form it was a truce, and not a treaty of peace: but otherwise the republic gained every point upon which it had insisted. Its freedom and independence were unconditionally recognised: it accepted no conditions concerning religion: it made no concessions in regard to its trade with the Indies. The great battle for freedom was won: the republic was free: its troubles and perils were at an end. Its oppressors had been the first to sue for peace: their commissioners had treated with the states-general at the Hague; and they had yielded every point, for which they had been waging war for nearly half a century.

Religious toleration prayed for Catholics.

Nor were these the only triumphs of the republic. Philip had burned Protestants by thousands: but his son, in ratifying the truce, besought indulgence for the Catholics. President Jeannin, the French ambassador, made an eloquent appeal to them in the same cause, asserting that no slavery was so intolerable as restraints upon the free exercise of religion. The tables were turned; and the republic had made illustrious converts to religious toleration.

The recognition of the Dutch republic, by Spain

and other States, was an important epoch in the history of European liberties. Absolute power had been successfully resisted: the right of a people to revolt against oppression had been recognised by crowned heads; and freedom of conscience had been maintained against the Church of Rome, and the Inquisition.

Recognition of the republic.

Such principles as these could not be confined within the narrow limits of the United Netherlands: but were spreading and bearing fruit throughout Europe. In France the Huguenots had recovered freedom of worship, under Henry IV. In England there were already signs of the coming conflict between the Stuarts and the Parliament, in which the principles of the divine right of kings, and ecclesiastical dominion, on one side, and civil and religious liberty on the other, were to be fought out. In Bohemia, the disciples of John Huss had long since obtained toleration for the reformed religion; and at this very time,[1] the Emperor granted freedom of worship to Protestants, in Hungary and Austria. In resisting the tyranny of Philip of Spain, the Netherlands had been fighting the battle of Protestantism, and of European liberties.

Its significance.

The Spaniards and Portuguese had hitherto taken the lead in geographical discoveries, and remote commercial adventures: the Pope had assumed to give them a monopoly in trade with the Indies: but now the free State of the Netherlands, whose commercial resources had enabled it to resist the overwhelming power of Spain,[2] wrested from the hands of despotism

Union of freedom and commerce.

[1] In Hungary, Oct. 19, 1608: in Austria, March 12, 1609.

[2] Philip I. having conquered and annexed Portugal, enjoyed the dominion and commercial rights of both countries.

CHAP. XI.

the primacy of the seas, and the commerce of all nations. Henceforth England,—also advancing in freedom,—was to be its only rival in maritime enterprise, in distant conquests, and wide-spreading empire. Despotic Spain was declining in power, in wealth and intellectual activity; and the two freest States in Europe were sharing the commerce, the riches, and the dominion of the world.

Intellectual progress of Holland.

The intellectual development of Holland was also associated with its freedom. The whole population was educated; and the higher classes were singularly accomplished, especially in modern languages, in which they have retained their proficiency, in modern times.

Freedom of opinion.

Among the liberties enjoyed, in the early days of the republic, was a remarkable freedom of speech and of the press, upon all affairs of State, far exceeding that permitted in any other country, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Spanish provinces after the peace.

Painfully instructive was the contrast between the other Netherland provinces, and the more fortunate republic. They had cast in their lot with despotism; and had lost their very life-blood. Far superior, in natural advantages, to the northern provinces, they had once engrossed the commerce and manufactures of the Netherlands. But ships were now rotting in the port of Antwerp: the looms and workshops of Ghent and Bruges were silent as the grave. Realms, once happy and prosperous, were blighted by tyranny; and for more than two centuries, continued an example and a warning to Europe. On one side were freedom and prosperity: on the other, oppression and ruin.

CHAP. XI.

Their constitution.

These provinces continued to observe their old constitutional forms. Their provincial assemblies, composed of the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate, or commons, were accustomed to meet: but their power was monopolised by a few churchmen and nobles. Deputies from the larger towns were chosen by the privileged and self-elected magistrates; and all the smaller towns, and the country, were without even the form of representation. After 1634, the summoning of the states-general was discontinued; and the Netherlands, as a nation, were governed by the viceroy, without popular control or responsibility. But, apart from political administration, the people continued to enjoy many privileges conceded to them in former times. The administration of justice was independent; and the liberty of the subject assured by law. Some of the provinces claimed peculiar franchises under charters, the most remarkable of which was the *joyeuse entrée* of Brabant; and the old municipal constitutions of the cities were generally maintained: but with their life and spirit subdued by local oligarchies, and foreign rule.

Domestic history of the Dutch Republic.

The Dutch republic was confirmed as an independent State: its embassies were received with consideration and respect, by crowned heads: a great future of commercial prosperity, of colonial conquest, and European wars, by sea and land, was before it: but its domestic history cannot be followed without disappointment and sadness. A people who had won their freedom, by such heroic sacrifices, should have made its worthy enjoyment an example to the whole world: but they were distracted by religious discords and civil strife. A municipal constitution, and a federation of provinces, provoked disunion: while the jealousies and ambition

CHAP. XI.

of rulers, and the factious violence of the populace, brought reproach upon a free country.

The Stadtholder and Barneveldt. 1618.

The stadtholder, now become Prince of Orange, by the death of his ill-fated brother, was the first to do wrong to the Republic, which he had so nobly defended. His hatred of Barneveldt had increased since the truce, until he was bent upon his ruin, even at the cost of freedom and justice. To subvert his influence in the states-general, he arbitrarily changed the senates of many of the towns, and filled them with creatures of his own,—an act more worthy of the tyrants with whom he had done battle, than of the chief of a free commonwealth. This breach of the constitution was followed by the illegal arrest, and judicial murder, of the aged Barneveldt, by which the freedom of the republic was profaned. Grotius, and other friends of this eminent statesman, were cast into prison; and ministers of religion of the 'remonstrant' party were banished and imprisoned. Such were the fruits of civil and religious liberty, under Maurice of Nassau.[1]

Wars of the republic.

And now the republic was to be drawn into the great whirlpool of European wars, which desolated many lands for upwards of a century. It fought for the Protestant cause, against the Catholic League, in

1619. the thirty years' war,[2] which shook the foundations of absolutism and the Church of Rome. The twelve years' truce expired, and hostilities were resumed

1621. between Spain and the Netherlands. The arms of the republic were again victorious: but it was nearly thirty

[1] See Mr. Motley's *Life and Death of John of Barneveldt*, ch. 18–22.

[2] On one side were the Elector Palatine, Henry IV. of France, the kings of England, Denmark, and Sweden, and the United Provinces: on the other, the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, the king of Spain, and the archdukes of the Netherlands.

years before an honourable peace was, at length, concluded. The gallant little State had won a considerable place among the powers of Europe; and this period was the culminating point in the glories of the republic. Its maritime genius was not yet overshadowed by that of England: its struggles with foreign enemies had united domestic factions in a common cause; and its extended commerce and foreign possessions had poured prodigious riches into the land. Cultivation and the arts flourished with its wealth and liberty. It was the age of Grotius, Heinsius, and Meteren: of Rembrandt, Wouvermans, Cuyp, and Paul Potter. CHAP. XI. 1648.

A less propitious period was approaching. The office of stadtholder had become virtually hereditary in the House of Orange, and those princes were assuming, more and more, the pretensions of royalty. William II. of Orange had married the princess-royal of England, daughter of Charles I. This alliance naturally assured his sympathies with that unfortunate monarch, and embroiled the republic with the English Parliament. In imitation of the errors of Charles, which had precipitated his doom, he arrested six of the most eminent deputies of the states-general, and surrounded that assembly with troops. He attempted to seize Amsterdam, by an armed force, in the dead of night, and to wreak his vengeance upon that wealthy city, which had ventured to oppose his royal will. This hopeful prince would either have trampled under foot all the liberties of the republic, or, like his English model, would have provoked rebellion: but his career was suddenly cut short by death, at the early age of twenty-four. The House of Orange. 1650.

A week later, his princess gave birth to a son,— destined hereafter, as the renowned William III., to Birth of William III.

CHAP. XI.

rule over England as well as Holland. Meanwhile, the office of stadtholder was in abeyance; and the states-general, relieved from the yoke of a master who had treated them so roughly, assumed to themselves the sovereignty of the republic.

England and Holland.

The English and the Dutch were bound together by so many ties,—by ancient friendships, by religion, liberty and commerce,—that an alliance between the commonwealth and the republic would have seemed most natural; and such was the wish of the English Parliament, and of many of the statesmen of Holland. But the sympathies of the Orange party, and of the people, were with the royal family of England. The 1651. Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., had taken refuge at the Hague; and when Oliver St. John and Walter Strickland came as ambassadors from the Parliament, they were hooted at, in the streets, by republican mobs, as regicides. They sought the friendship of Holland: but, as they insisted upon the immediate expulsion of the English fugitives, their mission would necessarily have failed, even if the temper of the people had been more friendly. They returned in anger; and hostile measures were immediately commenced. The navigation act was passed, for the express purpose of ruining Dutch commerce: [1] letters of reprisal were issued; and very soon the republics were at war. The two great naval powers were not unfairly matched: but the English proved themselves the stronger. 1653-54. Peace was soon restored: but Cromwell insisted that the States should exclude the infant Prince of Orange,

[1] This memorable act prohibited the importation of the productions of Asia, Africa, and America, except in English ships, and the productions of Europe, except in the ships of the country whence they were imported. Nothing could have been more injurious to the carrying trade of Holland.

and his descendants, from the stadtholderate; and to this unjust and ignoble condition, the pensionary De Witt persuaded them to submit. CHAP. XI.

The republic was doomed to further wars, ruinous alike to its commerce, its finances and its industry. Its sympathies with the royal cause of the Stuarts, and its hospitality to Charles II., were forgotten; and it was soon at war again with the English monarchy. It even measured its strength with England and France combined. For years it battled bravely against Louis XIV.; when, by a strange shifting of parts, its only ally, in all Europe, was Spain, its traditional enemy. Its achievements during these wars, by sea and land, are memorable in history. All eyes were turned to the little State which was able to contend against the navies of England, and the armies of 'Le Grand Monarque.' Constant wars. 1665–67. 1762–1678.

But such contests were a severe trial to its resources, and aggravated the weight of its taxation. At the same time, internal dissensions were introducing weakness and disorders into the administration of public affairs; and serious changes in the constitution of the republic. In 1667, the provincial Estates of Holland, led by the pensionary De Witt, fearful of renewed usurpations upon their freedom, and jealous of the Orange family, abolished, by what was termed the 'Perpetual Edict,' the office of stadtholder in that province. This edict was violently resented by the party of the young Prince of Orange, and was repugnant to the wishes of other provinces. But, on the breaking out of hostilities, the young Prince, scarcely of age,[1] was appointed captain-general, on condition The Perpetual Edict. 1667.

[1] His majority had been fixed at twenty-two, and he still wanted a few months of that age.

CHAP. XI.

that he should refuse the stadtholderate, if offered to him. Instead of preparing themselves, with one accord, to resist their enemies, the parties of De Witt and of the Prince of Orange were almost plunged into civil war. In the midst of tumults and anarchy, the Perpetual Edict was revoked, and the Prince was proclaimed stadtholder. De Witt and his brother Cornelius fell victims to the vengeance of the Orange party and the fury of a mob. Since the death of Barneveldt, there had been no such statesman as John de Witt. The first had been sacrificed to the jealousy of a ruler: the second to party feuds, and popular violence. The fate of both these eminent men was a disgrace to the republic, and a reproach to its free institutions.

Death of De Witt.

The Prince of Orange (William III.) was now master of the State, and immediately invaded the liberties of the towns, by changing the municipal governments, and filling them with his own devoted followers. Republican liberty had already been sacrificed, again and again, to each succeeding exigency; and its ultimate destiny was now foreshadowed. Another important step, in the history of the republic, was soon to follow. The stadholderate of the provinces was declared hereditary in the Prince of Orange, and his descendants. He was now virtually sovereign of the United Provinces; and higher honours were awaiting him. In 1667, he married Princess Mary, daughter of the Duke of York (afterwards James II.); and, in 1688, won for himself and his consort the throne of England. English liberties owed much to William III.: but Holland found herself a weak State under an hereditary prince, and allied to a stronger power, in whose wars

The Prince of Orange, William III. 1672.

The stadtholder hereditary.

Ascends the English throne. 1688–89.

she was entangled, and to whose interests her own were sacrificed.

Holland after his death.

At his death, in 1702, without issue, Holland was released from this injurious connection: but did not escape from the unceasing wars in which she had been involved. For several years, the government of the republic was resumed by the states-general: but in 1747, William Prince of Orange (William IV.) recovered the united offices of stadtholder, captain and admiral-general, which, mainly through the influence of the nobles, were now declared hereditary in his family. He soon assumed most of the attributes of royalty. He was king, in all but the name; and having the personal command of the army and navy, he was, in truth, far more powerful than a constitutional sovereign. Meanwhile others changes were passing over the government of the republic. Loud complaints were made of corruption in the states-general: offices of trust were said to be bought and sold: even the administration of justice was tainted with suspicions of bribery; and the municipal councils had been so often arbitrarily changed, that they had lost their independence. The people themselves, weighed down by heavy taxes,—the fruit of constant warfare,—and suffering from the gradual decay of Dutch commerce, appeared to be losing their old spirit of freedom and patriotism. There had always been disunion among the provinces: the feuds of rival parties had caused weakness to the State: but now the administration seemed stricken with infirmity, and the people with political languor. The noble little State was rapidly declining: its navy was rotting: its harbours were being choked with sand: its colonies falling into decay:

1747.

1747–1779.

Its declining fortunes.

CHAP. XI.

its trade and manufactures perishing under the rivalry of England.

War with England. 1780.

These various causes had long been undermining the power of Holland, when her ruin was nearly completed by a war with England. Her commerce was swept from the high seas: her colonies fell, one after another, before the arms of her victorious rival; and she was humbled by an ignominious peace.

1783.

The patriot party overcome by Prussia. 1784–1787.

The failures of the government favoured the growth of a 'patriot' party, opposed to the stadtholder, and clamorous for the recovery of popular liberties. By the struggles of this party with the friends of the Prince of Orange, the country was plunged into civil war; when the king of Prussia invaded the provinces and restored the ascendency of the Orange family.

The patriot refugees in France. 1788.

The patriots being now trampled upon, without mercy, by the dominant party, fled in great numbers to France, which was already throbbing with the first throes of its impending revolution. Hitherto there had been little of democracy either in the constitution of the republic, or in the sentiments of the Dutch people. The populace had often been turbulent and riotous: but their sympathies were all on the side of the princes of the House of Orange. The patriot party had striven to diminish the excessive power of the stadtholder, and to restore municipal liberties: but they professed none of the doctrines of theoretic democracy. The recent foundation of a democratic republic in America had, indeed, awakened in Holland, as elsewhere, a bolder spirit of political discussion: but little had yet been heard of social equality and the rights of man. But now the banished patriots naturally caught the spirit of French demo-

cracy. They allied themselves with the revolutionary party; and hoped to obtain their recall from exile, and the triumph of their cause, by the aid of the soldiers of the revolution.

War with France. 1793.

These exiles were in close communication with their friends at home; and when, in 1793, the National Convention declared war against the stadtholder, a considerable party were in secret correspondence with the enemy, and hailing the invaders as champions of the liberties of Holland. Overpowered by the French, for whom a severe frost had bridged over the waters, —hitherto the natural bulwarks of Holland,—and weakened by domestic treason, the stadtholder and his family fled; and the revolution was proclaimed throughout the provinces. Dutch citizens decked themselves with tricoloured emblems: fraternised with the French soldiery: planted the tree of liberty in every town, and celebrated the triumph of liberty, equality, and fraternity with feasts and dancing.

1794–1795. Revolution proclaimed.

The new constitution.

A revolutionary committee was formed upon the French model. The sovereignty of the people and the rights of man were proclaimed: the ancient municipal constitution of the provinces was overthrown; and a representative assembly summoned, to be chosen by universal suffrage. The hereditary titles of the nobility were abolished; and their domains appropriated for the use of the State: feudal customs were abrogated: the use of heraldic devices and liveries was prohibited: even the gallows and the whipping-posts were pulled down as emblems of slavery. Revolutionary clubs were founded on the model of those of France: but they were less violent than their prototypes: they were

CHAP. XI.

not supported by ferocious mobs; and they were held in restraint by a constitutional government.[1]

Holland a French province.

The revolution was accomplished: all Dutch citizens were free and equal: but their country was treated like a province of France. French troops were quartered upon them, and maintained at their expense: French assignats were passed off upon them for good money; and the quarrels of France had become their own. For a few years the republic was allowed a nominal independence, under the domination of France: but in 1806, Napoleon sent his brother Louis to rule as his vassal king; and in 1810, he absorbed its territory into the French empire.

Constitutional monarchy. 1813.

For three years Holland suffered under the oppressive rule of the emperor: she was exhausted by taxes and exactions: the blood of her sons was shed under the eagles of Napoleon, on the battle-fields of Europe; and her commerce was utterly destroyed. But in 1813, she was able once more to cast off the yoke of the foreigner, and to recover her independence. It was not a time for republican experiments; and a constitutional monarchy was established in the House of Orange. The Netherlands were now included with Holland in the new kingdom of the Netherlands, under William V., Prince of Orange.[2] The same constitutional privileges were assured to them, as were enjoyed by the Dutch provinces, including complete religious freedom. The Belgians now enjoyed more

[1] Juste, *Hist. de Belgique*, livre ix. ch. 1. Mrs. Davies, *Mem. of Ondaatje* (Utrecht, 1870), 172, 173. Many details of the revolutionary movement in the Netherlands, not given in general histories, will be found in this work.

[2] At this time he was called 'sovereign prince' of the Netherlands. In March 1815 he proclaimed himself King of the Netherlands.

constitutional freedom than had been their lot for three centuries; and they were again united with the northern provinces, under a descendant of the great William of Orange, who had struggled, with their common ancestors, for civil and religious liberty. Brussels, a Belgian city, was the capital of the new kingdom; and the commercial and agricultural prosperity of Belgium received an impulse from restored freedom, which had been unknown to many generations.

Holland and Belgium.

This union, however, was not destined to be of long duration: it was the work of the allied sovereigns—not the spontaneous fusion of the two nations; and the religious differences of the northern and southern provinces gravely affected the stability of the new State. The Calvinists of the North and the Roman Catholics of the South had no common sympathies: while for upwards of two centuries they had been governed upon opposite principles,—the former being under the rule of a republic,—the latter under foreign governors. Commercial rivalries, no less than political jealousies, contributed to the estrangement of the two peoples. Both in commerce and in political influence, Holland was the dominant power, and she regarded Belgium merely as an extension of her territory: while Belgium, on her side, considered herself annexed to a rival State, rather than united with a friendly people.[1] Moreover, the king was a Dutchman: he carried a new constitution with a high hand against a majority of Belgian notables; and otherwise favoured the interests and nationality of Holland. The highest offices in the

[1] Nothomb, *Essai sur la révolution Belge*, 44; Juste, *Hist. de Belgique*, livr. ix. ch. 2.

CHAP. XI.

State and in diplomacy were bestowed upon Dutchmen. By interferences with freedom of education, by restraints upon the press, and by discouragement of the language and peculiar laws of the Belgians, the government united against itself the Roman Catholics and the Liberal party,—otherwise opposed. Pretensions to prerogatives, scarcely compatible with so new a monarchy, increased the alienation of the Belgians. At length, in 1830, the Revolution in France precipitated an insurrection in Belgium, which resulted in the separation of that country from Holland, and the establishment of a free and prosperous kingdom, under the enlightened rule of Leopold I., king of the Belgians.[1]

Ultramontanism in Belgium.

The two kindred countries, whose fortunes had sometimes been united, and sometimes dissevered, now became distinct constitutional monarchies. In both, the principles and traditions of freedom were maintained; and the rights of the people were guaranteed by liberal institutions, and by the good faith and moderation of their sovereigns. But in Holland the Protestant religion, for which so noble a struggle had been made, in former times, has saved that State from the dangers of ecclesiastical domination. In Belgium, the ancient ascendency of the Church of Rome was upheld; and a grave conflict has, for several years, been waged between the Ultramontane Catholics and the Liberal party, which threatens the civil liberties of the country. In no other European State have the pretensions of the Church, in recent times, been pressed so far, or with so much success. The issue of this conflict is yet to be determined. The majority of the people are Catholics: the priest-

[1] Juste, *Hist. de Belgique*, livr. ix. ch. 3.

hood know how to wield popular forces in furtherance of their cause; and the Church of Rome, discomfited in other States, has exerted all her influence, to recover dominion in Belgium, which she has lost elsewhere. But the times are unpropitious to Ultramontane schemes: the Church of Rome has lost her hold upon the leaders of thought, throughout Europe; and the Belgians, however faithful to her creed, are not likely to suffer her pretensions to impair their cherished liberties. In a free State, such pretensions have become an anachronism; and their ultimate failure is assured.[1]

Continued freedom of the Netherlands.

The eventful history of the Netherlands: their ancient freedom: their painful struggles against despotism: their critical contest for the rights of conscience; and their good and evil fortunes, naturally command our sympathy. The two independent States, into which the seventeen historic provinces are now divided, are both enjoying ample political freedom, and revived prosperity. In contending for their traditional franchises, the people had never been moved by the principles and aims of democracy. Holland had become a republic by the force of circumstances: it was not founded upon a democratic basis; and it soon submitted, once more, to the rule of an hereditary prince. The Batavian republic was but an offshoot of the French Revolution. For centuries the Netherlands desired nothing more than the enjoyment of municipal privi-

[1] 'Si dans les longs siècles du moyen-âge, la papauté a été toute-puissante, n'est-ce point parce qu'elle dominait sur les esprits? et si aujourd'hui elle perd sa puissance, n'est-ce pas parce que l'empire des âmes lui échappe?'—'Nous ne croyons pas à un véritable danger, car il est impossible que l'humanité retourne dix siècles en arrière.'—*L'Eglise et l'Etat depuis la Révolution.* Preface. The third book of this very thoughtful work treats fully of Ultramontanism in Belgium; and the whole volume deserves an attentive perusal.

CHAP. XI.

leges, under their native sovereigns; and Holland and Belgium are still free, prosperous, and contented under the rule of their constitutional kings. Their liberties are now far greater than any to which they aspired in former times. They have retained their municipal franchises: while the people have acquired the political rights of citizens, and a share in the sovereignty of a free State. Their past struggles have fitted them for the temperate exercise of popular privileges; and their institutions are in harmony with their traditional sentiments and predilections.

CHAPTER XII.

FRANCE.

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE—GROWTH OF THE MONARCHY—GRADUAL OVERTHROW OF POPULAR LIBERTIES—CENTRALISATION—COURTIERS AND FEUDALISM—PRIVILEGES AND ABUSES—BURTHENS UPON THE PEASANTRY—IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE NOBLES, AND ADVANCE OF OTHER CLASSES, IN SOCIETY—THE NEW PHILOSOPHY—THE CHURCH AND OPINION—LOUIS XIV. AND LOUIS XV.

CHAP. XII.

WE now approach the history of a great European State, which illustrates, above all other examples, the social and political causes of democracy, its forces, and its dangers. In France, democracy was of a much later growth than in Italy, Switzerland, or the Netherlands. The revival of society, after the dark ages, had, indeed, secured some popular franchises, from the Crown and the nobles. But these were lost as the monarchy advanced in power; and, until late in the eighteenth century, no government in Europe appeared more firmly established. Democracy then revealed itself, in new forms: professing new principles: seeking new aims; and causing unexampled revolutions.

Late growth of democracy in France.

Of all the countries of Europe, France is the most favoured in situation, in climate, and in the fertility of her soil. On the north, her coasts are open to the commerce of England, and the States of northern Europe: on the West, to Spain and the Atlantic; and on the south to the Mediterranean. On the east, her frontiers extend

The country and the people of France.

CHAP. XII.

to Germany and Switzerland. Her climate, adapted by the natural variations of so extended a realm to a great diversity of products, is everywhere temperate. Her soil yields corn, wine, and oil in generous abundance. Her people are endowed with rare intelligence, ingenuity and taste. Gay, sociable, and fond of pleasure, they are yet industrious, temperate, and thrifty. An advanced civilisation was the result of these fortunate conditions; and France became distinguished, among the nations of Europe, in arms, in wealth, in culture, and in all the arts and accomplishments of social life. Yet, with all these natural advantages, the prosperity and happiness of the people were blighted by political and social ills. Misgovernment and unequal laws thwarted the beneficence of nature.

The Franks and feudalism.

Late in the fifth century, the Gauls had been conquered by the Teutonic Franks, under Clovis. This small band of conquerors—not exceeding ten thousand—having overcome the Goths and the Burgundians, who had already settled in the country, laid the foundations of the French monarchy. Dividing amongst them the fairest domains of the conquered country, they established the rule of feudalism. The Franks were to the Gauls what, at a later period, the Normans were to the Anglo-Saxons. The landowners were of a different race from that of the tillers of the soil: they spoke another language, and had their own distinct laws, traditions and customs. The dominant race guarded their rule, and provided for their interests as landowners, by exacting all the rights and dues of feudal superiors. Large grants of land were also made to the Church, to which all the feudal rights of that period were attached. In no other country was feudalism more firmly estab-

lished. It lay heavily upon the people: but it was a cause of weakness to the monarchy.

Growth of the monarchy.

The enlargement and consolidation of the French kingdom was the work of many centuries. By wars, intrigues and alliances, province was added to province, until the magnificent realm of France was, at length, completed. Meanwhile the monarchy was feudal, and in the earlier times, elective. Its wars were sustained by the military services of the vassals of the Crown. But their allegiance sat lightly upon them: at one time they disobeyed the summons of their chief, at another they encountered him in open war. The country was desolated by foreign wars, invasions, and internal strife: but, throughout all its troubles and vicissitudes, the power of the Crown was steadily advancing. Princes and barons were successively brought under subjection: their dangerous power was broken by the civil wars of the Fronde; and finally overthrown by the vigorous administration of Richelieu.

Overthrow of the feudal chiefs. 1562. 1624-1642.

The Church.

The Church was long another source of weakness to the Crown. With vast possessions and privileges, and supported by the alien power of Rome, she was nearly independent of the State. But, after protracted contests, Francis I. obtained from the Pope the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities; and the clergy became amenable to the direct influence of the Crown, and were liberal in their subsidies.

1516.

Supreme power of the Crown.

By these continued conquests over feudalism and the Church, the supremacy of the monarchy was established. The king, no longer relying on the military services of his vassals, raised standing armies; and assumed independent prerogatives of legislation, of judicature, and of taxation.

CHAP. XII.

Misery and discontents of the people.

While France was thus advancing in greatness, and her kings in power, the people were suffering from the distracted state of the country, and the oppressive weight of feudalism. They suffered from invasions and civil wars, from the rigour of feudal service, and from vexatious restraints upon their industry. They were serfs of nobles and of the Church; and were bound to slavery in body and soul. The Albigenses and other heretics were hunted down like wolves, and learned some of that ferocity which displayed itself in later times. From the time of Charlemagne, we read of the wretchedness of the peasantry; and in the fourteenth century the country was desolated by famine and pestilence. 1343. This period is also memorable for a formidable insurrection of the peasantry after the battle of Poitiers, when King John had been taken prisoner to England, and the country was almost in a state of anarchy. The Jacquerie. 1358. The peasants suffering from want, and resenting the oppression of the feudal lords, rose in great numbers, in different parts of France: they burned many castles, murdered the owners, and committed the most frightful outrages upon women and children.[1] Their fierce hatred of the nobles and gentry proved the severity of the feudal yoke:[2] but it also showed the savagery to which a French populace could be roused. At this period, struggles with feudalism were rife in other parts of Europe. In England, they exploded in the

[1] Froissart, *Chron.* (Collection de Buchon), ch. 385.

[2] 'Ils crurent qu'il leur étoit permis de se soulever contre les nobles du royaume, et de prendre leur revanche des mauvais traitements qu'ils en avaient reçus.'—*Cont. de Nangis*, iii. 119.

'Et chacun d'eux dit, "Il dit voir (vrai), il dit voir: honni soit celui par qui il demeurera que tous les gentils hommes ne soit détruits."'—Froissart, *Chron.* (Collection de Buchon), ch. 385, xii. 293.

rebellion of Wat Tyler :[1] in the Netherlands in the rising of the towns against the barons and the counts of Flanders.[2] But nowhere did insurgents commit atrocities so barbarous as those of the French Jacquerie,[3] and in later times, the like passions were to be revealed, in excesses no less monstrous, and unnatural.

The Jacquerie was repressed with merciless severity:[4] but the spirit of vengeance long rankled in the minds of the peasantry; and several years later a fresh outbreak was threatened. According to Froissart, if the king had been defeated in Flanders by Philip Van Artevelde, there would have been a general massacre of the nobles and gentry of France.[5] 1382.

Nor was the democratic spirit confined to the peasantry. Before the outrages of the Jacquerie, Stephen Marcel, Provost of Paris,[6] was master of the capital, and nearly of the kingdom. By him and his civic force, Paris was placed in a state of defence, against invaders. He dominated over the Estates, assembled at this crisis: he put the king's ministers to flight; and, by means of a committee of the Estates, he assumed the practical sovereignty of the State. He even joined his own name with that of the regent in summoning a meeting of the Estates. But his rule was short. The popular leader was slain by his fellow- Stephen Marcel. 1356–1358. July 1358.

[1] In 1381.

[2] See *supra*, 15–17; Perrens, *Democratie en France*, ii. 31–37.

[3] 'Certes oncques n'avint entre Chrétiens et Sarrassins telle forcenerie que ces gens fasoient, ni qui plus fissent de maux et de plus vilains faits, et tels que créature ne devroit oser penser, aviser, ni regarder.'—Froissart, *Chron.* livr. i. ch. 385.

[4] 'Si commencèrent aussi à tuer et à découper ces méchants gens, sans pitié, et sans merci; et les pendoient par fois aux arbres, où ils les trouvoient.'—Ibid. ch. 386.

[5] Ibid. livr. ii. ch. 186 (Collection de Buchon).

[6] Prevost des marchands?

CHAP. XII.

citizens,[1] and the democracy was overthrown. The brief career of this remarkable provost naturally recalls the memory of Rienzi in Italy, and the Van Arteveldes in Flanders.[2] Each of these conspicuous men represented, for a time, the democracy of the fourteenth century: each lost his life in the cause he had espoused: not one of them permanently advanced the liberties of his country.

Rebellion in Paris. 1382.

But the mutinous spirit of Paris was not subdued; and in 1382 the people, resenting some new taxes, rebelled against the king, broke open the prisons, and armed themselves from the public armouries. Rouen also joined in this rebellion.[3] Elements of disorder were widespread throughout France: but the Crown was steadily consolidating its power, and reducing nobles and people alike to subjection.

Municipal liberties.

The kings had at first favoured municipal liberties as a counterpoise to the power of the barons; and as the towns increased in wealth and prosperity, they showed much of that spirit of freedom and independence which had distinguished the free cities of other lands.[4] In the south, traditions of the ancient Roman municipalities may have served to keep alive this spirit;[5] and everywhere resistance to feudalism, and the common interests of their trades, united the burghers into powerful municipal communities. They elected their own magistrates, and shared in the active

[1] Froissart, *Chron.* livr. i. ch. 393; Perrens, *La Démocratie en France,* ch. i.–xii.

[2] Perrens, *La Démocratie en France,* i. 332.

[3] Froissart, *Chron.* livr. ii. ch. 127, 128, 151.

[4] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime,* 63; Freeman, *Hist. Essays,* 2nd ser. 12.

[5] Robertson, *History of Charles V.,* sect. i. n. [Q]; Lecky, *Hist. of Rationalism,* ii. 270.

public life of a free society. But at an early period, the government of most of the French towns had become the heritage of a small body of the richer burghers,[1] who were more earnest in securing privileges for themselves than in advancing the political influence of their municipalities. And, considering their importance, the towns played an inconsiderable part in the politics of France. In political power, they never approached the renowned cities of Italy, of the Netherlands, of Germany, or even of Spain. If any town displayed too much independence, it was promptly deprived of its municipal franchises;[2] and Louis XI. subjected the jurisdiction of the towns to his own lieutenants.[3] In 1692, Louis XIV. abolished all municipal elections; and sold the right of governing the towns to the rich citizens, who were ready to purchase it.[4] The monarchy was now far too strong to suffer from municipal independence; and this traffic in offices was simply a financial expedient. So little did the king concern himself about popular privileges, that no sooner had he sold the municipal offices, than he treated with the burghers for the repurchase of their rights. So great a mockery had municipal franchises become, that, in some towns, these rights were thus sold no less than seven times.[5] But, whether sold

[1] 'Au onzième ou douzième siècle les communes se montrent. Au treizième siècle la décadence était déjà complète. Il est certain que ces révolutions communales avaient été l'œuvre de la partie riche des habitants des villes. Les prolétaires suivaient: mais, hélas! à aucun moment ils ne créent rien qui ait eu vie, même d'un jour.'—Edgar Quinet, *La Révolution*, i. 43.

[2] *e.g.* Bordeaux, by Charles VII.

[3] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 64; Crowe, *Hist. of France*, ii. 255.

[4] De Tocqueville, 63.

[5] Ibid. 64.

CHAP. XII.

to individuals or to the burghers at large, the result was practically the same: the towns being governed by a small oligarchy, uncontrolled by the people, and completely under the direction of the officers of the Crown.[1] They were effaced from the political constitution of France.

States-general.

Another institution of the middle ages shared the same fate. The Estates of the realm were assembled, in early times, to advise the king. These, indeed, were originally councils of barons and prelates.[2] But, in 1302, Philip the Fair summoned the *tiers état*, being delegates from the towns, to meet the nobles and prelates in Notre-Dame; and this was the first convention of the states-general. They were afterwards assembled irregularly, in times of national difficulty and danger, or when the necessities of kings drove them to demand extraordinary subsidies;[3] and, in 1355, it appears that the three Estates deliberated together.[4] Again, in 1484, the states-general were convoked, so as to ensure a national representation, and embraced delegates from the country, as well as from the towns. These deliberations were conducted not by orders, but in six bureaux, which comprised the representatives of all the orders, according to their territorial divisions.[5] In England, assemblies such as these, grew into a free and powerful Parliament, controlling the prerogatives

[1] 'Au dix-huitième siècle le gouvernement municipal des villes avait donc dégénéré partout en une petite oligarchie.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 68.

[2] *e.g.* The Parliament assembled in Paris in 1284, by Louis the Hardy.

[3] Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév: Fr.* i. 157 *et seq.*

[4] Perrens, *La Démocratie en France au moyen-âge*, i. 125. This author says: 'Quel qu'ait été le but poursuivi et le but atteint, il est impossible de ne pas remarquer qu'à leur insu nobles et prélats faisaient un premier pas dans la voie de l'égalité entre les trois ordres.'

[5] Aug. Thierry, *Essai sur l'histoire de la formation du Tiers-état*, i. 87; Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Révolution Fr.* i. 155.

of the Crown, and protecting the rights of the commons. But in France, they had no settled place in the constitution: they were clothed with no defined authority: they laid their complaints (*cahiers*) at the foot of the throne, without any assurance that they would be listened to: they were called and dismissed, at the pleasure of the Crown; and were, at length, wholly discontinued.[1]

Their discontinuance.

With the states-general of 1614, these national assemblies were brought to a close; and, henceforth, the king levied his subsidies by prerogative. These assemblies had, indeed, imposed little restraint upon the increasing power of the Crown: but they had maintained the principle of representation, in the constitution of France. The nobles, the clergy, and the commons, had been brought into the presence of the king; and the commons had been recognised as a political order. Two of these orders, closely associated with the Crown, and profiting by its prerogatives, continued to enjoy great power and privileges: but the third, or commonalty, now wholly lost their recognition as an Estate of the realm.

Provincial assemblies.

Several of the provinces, which had been, from time to time, acquired by France, still retained their ancient constitutions; and their Estates imposed a certain check upon the prerogatives of the crown, in the levying of taxes. In Languedoc, Burgundy, Provence, and Brittany, and other provinces, or *pays d'états*, the Estates, consisting of bishops, nobles, and city magistrates, met annually to grant subsidies to the king, and to assent to new taxes. Sometimes they opposed his demands: but they were generally coerced by his

[1] Louis Blanc, *Hist.* i. 160–169.

CHAP. XII.

overruling power. They were, however, mainly assemblies of nobles and churchmen, the last strongholds of feudalism; and Richelieu, in his contest with the survivors of feudal power, endeavoured to abolish them. Most of the provinces proved too powerful to be yet overcome, by the strong hand of prerogative. But Louis XIV. was afterwards able to deprive Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and other provinces, of their provincial assemblies. Languedoc, Burgundy, Provence, Brittany, and other provinces, were permitted to continue as *pays d'états*: but their assemblies were completely governed by the commissaries of the king. And thus another institution, endowed with some measure of constitutional independence, was overthrown.

The Parliaments.

A further check upon prerogative was found in the Parliaments. These bodies, however, were in no sense representative. They were nominees of the Crown; and, as high courts of justice, they proved firm friends to prerogative, and enemies to feudalism.[1] "But courts are ever ready to enlarge their own jurisdiction; and as the king promulgated his decrees, or ordinances, by requiring them to be registered by the Parliaments, they assumed the right of delaying or refusing this registration: or, in other words, of putting a *veto* upon the acts of the Crown. Having no commission from the king, nor from the people, for the exercise of such a function, their pretensions were naturally resisted. The king knew how to maintain his prerogatives. He could overcome the contumacy of a Parliament, by holding a *Lit de Justice*; and, if it continued refractory, he could banish its most mutinous members, or order the

[1] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, 193–196.

removal of the Parliament, in a body, until it submitted to his will.[1] But, in the absence of any other controlling power, the opposition of the Parliaments often expressed public opinion; and as the only barrier against the arbitrary power of the king, they formed a popular element in the constitution.[2] Nor did the Parliaments confine their opposition to the decrees of the Crown: they often ventured upon the strongest remonstrances against the policy of the government.

The Parliament of Paris was the first of these distinguished bodies: but the provincial parliaments,—originally eight in number, and afterwards increased to fourteen,—were also powerful within their own jurisdictions. They exercised the highest judicature in their several provinces. They consisted of the most eminent lawyers and magistrates in France,—ennobled by their offices, distinguished by their learning, eloquence, and cultivation,—the ornaments of French society.[3] The Parliaments continued to display a strong spirit of independence, until they were abolished by Louis XV., in 1771.[4]

The monarchy absolute under Louis XIV.

And thus, in each succeeding age, the prerogatives of the Crown were enlarged, while every other power in the State was subjected to its dominion. And as the commonalty were advancing in wealth, in intelligence,

[1] Henri Marten, *Hist. de France*, ix. 109, xv. 142, &c.; Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* i. 435; Laferrière, *Hist. du Droit de France.*

[2] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 244.

[3] 'France, so fertile of great men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, might better spare, perhaps, from her annals, any class or description of them, than her lawyers.'—Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 196. 'The spirit and learning of the French provincial magistracy,—the old Parliamentary spirit,—was the very salt of the nation before the Revolution of 1789.'—Reeve, *Royal and Revolutionary France*, ii. 92.

[4] See *infra*, p. 125.

CHAP. XII.

and in social influence, they were excluded from all voice in the government of their country.[1] Under Louis XIV. the monarchy had become absolute. Whatever constitutional rights may have been opposed to the power of the king, he exercised prerogatives which overcame all resistance. He could silence a Parliament by a *lit de justice*: he could imprison his subjects by *lettres de cachet*: he could banish them by *lettres d'exil*: he could confiscate their property: he could tax their revenues. Nor was he content to rule over the temporal rights of his subjects only: he assumed to govern their souls; and, by revoking the Edict of Nantes, he subjected the consciences and worship of his people to his own will. And while the monarchy was thus acquiring a monopoly of power, it was losing much of its feudal character.

Centralisation in France.

Most of the old local authorities had been gradually superseded by nominees of the Crown. The king's council (*le conseil du roi*) combined the highest powers, judicial, administrative, and even legislative. The comptroller-general was a minister who wielded nearly all the executive power of the State. In every province was an intendant, who administered its affairs as agent of the government. In the words of Law, the notorious financier, 'the kingdom was governed by thirty intendants.' These officers levied the taxes, regulated the militia and police, superintended the roads, bridges, and other public works, and undertook the relief of the poor.[2] The intendants even ruled

The intendants.

[1] Mignet, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* Intr. 8, 9.

[2] 'C'est l'administration de l'état qui s'étend, de toutes parts, sur les débris des pouvoirs locaux: c'est la hiérarchie des fonctionnaires qui remplace, de plus en plus, le gouvernement des nobles.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 26.

over the towns as well as the country,—administering their finances, establishing their *octrois*, and authorising the execution of their public works.[1] In the villages the people once had a voice in the management of their own affairs: but in the eighteenth century, they had all fallen under the tutelage of the intendants. These active and vigilant officers, greatly extended the power of the Crown: but in the same measure, they increased the burthens of the people. It was their first duty to enrich the royal treasury; and they performed it with little regard to the sufferings and repugnance of the tax-payers.

The courts of justice.

Even the courts found their jurisdiction superseded by the administrative activity of the intendants. They continued to determine private suits between parties: but were not allowed to interfere in cases in which the government and its officers were concerned. These courts had done good service to liberty, under an absolute government. All their proceedings were conducted in public: their decisions were open to appeal: they were independent; and, above all, they were not venal: they afforded protection against public and private wrongs. It was a grievous blow to liberty, and to public security, when power prevailed over justice, and the people could only protect themselves by force.[2]

All these changes tended to concentrate the entire power of France in the capital. From early times

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 69.

[2] De Tocqueville says: 'Quand un peuple a détruit dans son sein l'aristocratie, il court vers la centralisation comme de lui-même.'—*L'ancien Régime*, 89.

CHAP. XII.

Paris had been the seat of the court and of the government, the chosen resort of literature and the arts, and of society. It was also a centre of industry and manufactures, to which great numbers of capitalists and skilled artisans were attracted. And while the capital was thus advancing in power, riches, and culture, the gradual absorption of all local authorities, by the central government, withdrew from the provinces their activity and life. The provinces were depleted of their life-blood by the capital. Their weakness and stagnation were increasing, while Paris was stimulated into excessive vitality. Its commercial industry attracted multitudes of workmen ; and the working classes acquired a dangerous preponderance.[1]

Evils of absolutism.

This concentration of all the powers of the State in the Crown was fatal not only to the liberties, but to the material and social well-being, of the country. No longer controlled in the levying of taxes, kings were free to riot in every extravagance. They engaged lightly in serious wars: they built costly palaces: they maintained extravagant establishments; they surrounded themselves with a court of extraordinary stateliness and splendour. There were no bounds to their expenses; and when more money was needed for the royal state, fresh taxes were laid upon the people. They lived for themselves alone, for their ambition, their pride and their pleasures. They had no thought of duty to their subjects. Ruling by hereditary right, they were the representatives of God upon earth, and were accountable to no man.

Court of Louis XIV.

The court of Louis XIV., at Versailles, was the

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, ch. vii.

most magnificent and the most costly in Europe. No earthly sovereign could be surrounded by greater state, or approached with deeper reverence.[1] So brilliant a society of princes and nobles had never been collected. Nowhere had graceful manners, well-bred courtesy, and polished conversation been cultivated to such perfection. This favoured circle formed the ideal of social elegance and refinement. It made France famous as the politest of nations. But it was idle, frivolous, and corrupt. Pleasure and preferment were its only aims. It had no sense of public duty or responsibility. Courtiers enjoyed a gay society, which scarcely cared to cover its vices with the thin veil of gallantry. They performed no useful service to the State: but were ever seeking new offices and pensions. With all their pride of birth and station, they were not ashamed to beg unmerited favours from their royal master. And their insatiable greed multiplied the burthens of the people.[2]

Evils of the court.

The evils of such a court as this were grave enough: but its indirect consequences were fatal to the interests of society. The attraction of nobles and high ecclesiastics, from their provincial strongholds, to the royal court, had commenced in the reign of Francis I., and increased with the decline of feudalism, and the aggrandisement of the monarchy. The warlike chiefs of one age, became the silken courtiers of another. Before the nobles were attracted to the court they lived upon their own territories: they were surrounded by their

[1] 'Depuis les Césars, aucune vie humaine n'a tenu tant de place au soleil.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 114. The second book of this remarkable work contains a description of this court, at once comprehensive and minute.

[2] As a single example: 'En 1757 l'impôt est de 283,156,000 livres; en 1789, de 476,294,000.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 455.

CHAP. XII.

neighbours and dependents: they were identified with the social life of the provinces. Their feudal rights were invidious and oppressive: but in the eyes of their own people, they were princes, to whom all accustomed services were rightly due. They kept alive a sentiment of hereditary loyalty.[1] Their bravery and manly virtues, the splendour of their hospitality, their charities and friendly offices, endeared them to their countrymen. And in more tranquil times, they were able to lay aside the sword, and assume the duties and responsibilities of magistrates, provincial councillors, and country gentlemen. At this very period, when they could have done the best service to society, they deserted their ancestral halls, and flocked to Paris and Versailles. Princes in the provinces, they now became the gilded servants of the king; and their revenues, instead of maintaining their old feudal state, contributed to the splendour of the royal court. But they profited by the munificence of the king and the privileges of their order; and while still enjoying the rights of feudalism, they escaped from all its duties. On the ground of their feudal services to the Crown, they had formerly claimed exemption from other public burthens; and now that these services were no longer rendered, their exemption was maintained.

High offices monopolised by nobles.

All the highest offices in the Church, the State, and the army, were conferred upon nobles. No commoner could aspire to hold them. The bishop, the abbot, and the prior were of gentle birth: the half-starved *curé*

[1] 'La seigneurie, le comté, le duché deviennent une patrie que l'on aime d'un instinct aveugle, et pour laquelle on se dévoue.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 13.

was a plebeian.[1] The bishop lived like a prince, surrounded by luxuries, and mixing freely in the gay, and not too moral society of the court. The *curé*, ill-housed and ill-fed, laboured in his humble calling, without encouragement from above, and without a hope of preferment. To be a captain in the army, an officer was required to prove that he had four degrees of nobility; and throughout the service, promotion was to be gained, not by merit, but by court favour. Sinecures were multiplied for the nobles, in the public administration, and in the court. They were of no service to the State: they contributed little to the dignity of the royal household: but they weighed heavily upon the national finances.[2] Preposterous pensions were lavished upon courtiers and favoured ladies, without any pretence of service to the State.[3]

Sale of offices.

Nor were offices multiplied merely for the gratification of courtiers. Since the fifteenth century, the sale of public offices had been resorted to by the Crown as a source of revenue. To enhance their saleable value, many of them were made hereditary: some even carried with them a patent of nobility: all entitled the fortunate holders to exemption from many taxes. Multitudes of offices were created, not because they were necessary, but because they could be sold. Such offices existed in every department of the State; and thus there stood between the government and the people, an independent official aristocracy, very burthensome to the country, and little under the control of its rulers. To administer

[1] 'Les vrais pasteurs des âmes, les co-opérateurs dans le saint ministère, ont à peine une subsistance.'—Le Marquis de Mirabeau, cited by Taine, *Les Origines*, 94. See also Laurent, *L'Eglise et l'Etat*, 2–11.

[2] Taine, 81–89.

[3] Ibid. 90.

31037

CHAP. XII.

the affairs of a great State efficiently, with such a staff, was out of the question; and Louis XIV., in great measure, superseded them by the appointment of an intendant and *subdélegués* in every province. Yet more offices were created and sold; and their holders being exempt from taxation, the burthens upon their less fortunate neighbours were increased; and their own privileges became the more obnoxious. Even the reversions of offices were sold. Monopolies were also granted, at high prices, which crippled trade, and brought ruin upon numbers of industrious families.

Exemptions of nobles.

While the nobles were thus enjoying the lucrative offices and honours of the court, and distributing favours to their friends, their feudal domains were deserted. The State taxes, from which their own property and that of the Church were wholly or partly exempt, were constantly becoming more burthensome to the poorer proprietors, for whom there was no exemption. About one-half the soil belonged to the favoured rich, and the other half to the heavily-laden poor.[1] But yet more grievous were the feudal dues and local burthens borne by the unprivileged lands. All the great nobles and dignitaries of the Church were now absentees; and the lesser nobles and proprietors, still resident, were deprived of their local functions by the officers of the State. Nothing of feudalism remained but its burthens; and these were heavier than ever.

Burthens upon the peasantry.

The *corvée*, or statute-labour, exacted for the repair of the roads and various local works, tolls on the roads,

[1] 'Si on défalque les terres publiques, les privilégiés possèdent la moitié du royaume. Et ce gros lot est, en même temps, le plus riche.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 18.

ferries across the rivers, dues at fairs and markets, exclusive rights of grinding corn, of pressing grapes, and of keeping pigeons: fees on the sale of land, dues and ground-rents to the feudal lord, in money and in kind: tithes and seignorial dues to the Church: such were the chief burthens upon the land.[1] As wealth and civilisation increased, more constant demands were made for public roads. They were most needed for the rich: but they were made at the cost of the poor peasants, to whom they were of little use.[2] Besides these feudal dues, the public burthens upon the peasantry were grievous. Among them were the *taille*, a heavy personal tax, unequally assessed and arbitrarily levied;[3] and others no less onerous.[4]

Effects of non-residence.

These demands upon the peasant proprietors and farmers became more repugnant when the feudal superiors had lost their power. So long as the nobles administered justice, executed the laws, and took the lead in all local affairs, these public duties seemed to justify their rights. They stood in the same relation to the people as the State,—rendering services, and receiving taxes; but now the services were withdrawn, and the exactions continued. These dues were constantly becoming more burthensome. In the absence of proprietors, agents and stewards were hard task-masters. It was their business to collect the uttermost farthing from the peasantry. The unjust steward knew how to profit by his exactions: the honest servant was bound to meet the urgent

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 42.

[2] This peculiar hardship was strikingly condemned by the king himself in an edict against the *corvée*.—Ibid. 266.

[3] Ibid. 185.

[4] See *infra*, p. 107.

CHAP. XII.

necessities of his employer. Still worse was the lot of the unhappy peasant when the dues were leased to a stranger, or mortgaged to a creditor. Unfeeling and rapacious, such men, who now stood in the place of the proprietor, became the terror and scourge of the cultivators,—reducing them to beggary, and driving them from their homes.[1]

Resident proprietors.

There were many proprietors, indeed, still resident upon their estates. Too poor to enjoy the pleasures of the capital, for which they longed, they lived penuriously in their own châteaux. They were relieved of all the public duties of a country gentleman:[2] but they were tenacious of their old feudal rights,—the dovecot, the warren, and the game preserves.[3] With more sympathy for the peasantry than the collectors of absentee proprietors, they were too poor to be liberal. They lived upon their feudal rights, and could not afford to forego them.[4] Whether the proprietor was resident or not, there was no relief for the peasant; and at length the long-suffering cultivators of the soil learned to cast sullen and revengeful looks upon the château. There lay the treasured title-deeds which had doomed them to penury. There might be found,

[1] 'On comprend que, exercée par leurs mains (les fermiers ou débiteurs), la féodalité pût paraître souvent plus dure qu'au moyen-âge.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 405 (note). 'C'est un loup ravissant, que l'on lâche sur la terre, qui en tire jusqu'aux derniers sous, accable les sujets, les reduit à la mendicité, fait déserter les cultivateurs, rend odieux le maître qui se trouve forcé de tolérer ses exactions, pour le faire jouir.'—Renauldon, 628, cited by Taine, *Les Origines*, 67.

[2] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 39, 56, &c.

[3] Taine, *Les Origines*, 50.

[4] 'Le peuple, qui d'un mot va souvent droit à l'idée, avait donné à ce petit gentilhomme le nom du moins gros des oiseaux de proie: il l'avait nommé le hobereau.'—De Tocqueville, 181.

at some future time, the means of rescue and redemption.[1]

Peasant proprietors.

Besides these two classes of feudal landowners, there was a prodigious number of peasant proprietors, who had gradually acquired portions of the original feudal grants. Serfdom had been generally unknown for centuries before the Revolution.[2] In Normandy it had ceased to exist so far back as the thirteenth century;[3] and the peasantry, no longer serfs, became, in vast numbers, proprietors of the soil. Long before the Revolution and the Code Napoléon, the extraordinary subdivision of the land, among peasant proprietors, had been observed by French statesmen.[4] Numbers of nobles and landowners, impoverished by extravagance and by the mismanagement of their estates, were induced to sell portions of their land to the peasantry. To this class about one-third of the land of France belonged. They were generally poor, ignorant, and struggling for a bare subsistence. Though they had purchased their little patches of soil out of their scanty savings, they had not acquired exemption from feudal dues; and as their richer neighbours, to whom these dues were paid, were exempt from other taxes, the chief burthens fell upon this single class, which was least able to bear them. Whatever the pride of ownership, the peasant proprietor was still called upon to leave his own farm, and to work for another, without reward. His crops were devoured by his great neighbour's game: his corn was ground dearly at the pri-

[1] Taine, *Les Origines*, 52.

[2] The only exception was in territories in the east of France, acquired from Germany.

[3] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, livr. ii. ch. 1.

[4] Ibid.; Doniol, *La Révolution Française, et la Féodalité*.

CHAP. XII.

vileged mill; and he still paid feudal rents for lands which he called his own. Can we wonder that the peasant proprietors hated the nobles and the Church?[1]

The metayers.

Another class of peasants, who shared the sufferings and wrongs of the small proprietors, were the peasant tenantry of the nobles and the Church, known as *metayers*, who paid their rent in kind. Without capital or skill, or interest in the soil, their farming was wretched. The landlord suffered by the unproductiveness of his land: the tenant was oppressed by agents, collectors, and money-lenders. At best, the *metayer* earned a bare subsistence,—living a hard life, ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and ignorant; and upon him fell the taxes from which his privileged landlord was exempt. Both these classes of peasants were poor enough: but, to escape impositions, they pretended even greater poverty. Their wretched houses were out of repair, and nearly stripped of furniture: their clothing was beggarly, and their food coarse and scanty.[2]

Poverty of the peasants.

The game-laws.

Another grievous wrong was suffered by the peasantry, from the feudal game-laws. Game was strictly preserved for the use of the lords of the soil; and for its protection, the peasant was exposed to the most vexatious injuries. His crops were destroyed without

[1] Many interesting illustrations of the condition of the peasantry, before the Revolution, will be found in Bonnemère, *Hist. des Paysans*; in Boulanvilliers, *Etat de la France*; and in *L'histoire d'un Paysan*, 1789, 1792, 1793, 1794-1815, by Erckmann-Chatrian. 'La noblesse et le clergé, ces deux ordres rapaces, se sont appropriés tous les avantages de la société, ont fait tarir pour nous toutes les sources de l'aisance et de la prospérité; on nous a vexés, macérés, à peu près comme des bêtes de somme. Ces ennemis du bonheur des peuples ne paient rien à l'état, quoiqu'ils possèdent les plus grands biens, des biens immenses: tout est à eux, rien à nous, et avec ce rien nous sommes obligés de faire face à tous les besoins de la chose publique.' —*Réflexions d'un Philosophe Breton*, Intr. au Moniteur, p. 509.

[2] Taine, *Les Origines*, 445.

compensation: he was forbidden to protect them by the inclosure of his land: he could keep neither dog nor gun. Woe to him if, at the hatching season, he disturbed the partridges by cutting his own grass, or lucerne, or osiers. Any breach of these laws was punished with rigorous severity.[1]

Weight of taxes.

The peasantry were ruined by State taxes, by local burthens, and by feudal dues and services. The tax-gatherer was ever at their doors: he even pursued them as they came from church: their goods were sold for non-payment of taxes; and their ignorance exposed them to extortion and fraud.[2] Not only were these taxes ruinous in amount, but some, like the salt-tax and the wine-tax, were levied by means so oppressive and vexatious, that the loss to industry and trade was more serious than the tax itself.[3]

The militia.

The last wrong of the peasantry was that of recruiting for the militia. The military forces were drawn exclusively from the lower classes: all people in comfortable circumstances, as well as their servants, enjoyed exemption from service; and none but the poor peasants, who had no friends, were pressed into the ranks.[4] Dragged from their homes, and made soldiers against their will, they were treated with severity and neglect. While their noble officers were faring sumptuously every day, the common soldiers were

[1] 'Leurs capitaines de chasse, veneurs, gardes forestiers, gruyers, protégent les bêtes comme si elles étaient des hommes, et poursuivent les hommes comme s'ils étaient des bêtes.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 72.

[2] 'La plupart . . . ressemblent aux fellahs d'Egypte, aux laboureurs de l'Indoustan.'—Ibid. 466.

[3] Ibid. 468–473.

[4] 'Le service leur est si odieux, que souvent ils se sauvent dans les bois, où il faut les poursuivre à main armée.'—Ibid. 513.

CHAP. XII.

coarsely and sparely fed, ill-lodged, and ill-treated.[1] Nowhere was the hard contrast between the noble and the peasant more striking than in a French regiment. The soldiers, sullen and discontented, deserted in thousands, and lived upon society as outlaws, marauders, poachers, and vagrants.

No agricultural middle class.

There was no agricultural middle class, like that of yeomen, or large tenant farmers, as in England. The rural society was that of nobles, squires, and peasants. Nor did any of the middle class, enriched by trade, choose their homes in the country. Repelled by the haughty bearing of the proprietors,[2] and by the local burthens which fell heavily upon them, as unprivileged owners, they took refuge in the towns, and swelled the ranks of the *bourgeoisie*.[3]

Famines and bread riots.

With such discouragements to the industry of the peasantry, we learn without surprise of the miseries by which large parts of France were often afflicted. Famines were not infrequent, which carried off multitudes of sufferers; and reduced the survivors to the most frightful privations.[4] While nobles and prelates were feasting, at Versailles, thousands of their wretched people were dying of hunger. Large tracts of land, deserted by the peasantry, were thrown out of cultivation. Many fled from their miseries to the provincial towns, and to Paris: where a starving populace were

[1] 'Six sous par jour, un lit étroit pour deux, du pain de chien, et depuis quelques années, des coups comme à un chien.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 512.

[2] 'Le seigneur qui résidait dans ses terres montrait d'ordinaire une certaine bonhomie familière envers les paysans; mais son insolence vis-à-vis des bourgeois, ses voisins, était presque infinie.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 134.

[3] 'La presque totalité de la classe moyenne dans l'ancien régime habitait les villes.'—Ibid. 134, 136.

[4] Taine, *Les Origines*, 430, *et seq.*

often driven to riots and pillage. They broke down the barriers at the *octroi*, they forced open granaries, and provision shops: they plundered markets, and they hung bakers. Multitudes of beggars infested the country roads, the towns and the capital. In 1767, no less than 50,000 were taken up, by order of the government.[1] Bands of armed robbers and poachers, cut down woods, swept away game and poultry, and plundered farm-houses. These dangerous vagabonds, trained to outrage, were ready to lead famished mobs in tumults and insurrections.[2]

The provincial towns.

The towns were more prosperous than the country: but they suffered grievous burthens. They were subject to a heavy *octroi*, and to public and local imposts: their trade was injured by monopolies, and fiscal vexations: no one was free to follow his calling in his own way: everywhere privilege was opposed to freedom. Numbers of their own workmen were often without employment; and they were overrun by paupers and vagrants from the country.[3]

Impoverishment of the nobles.

While the country was suffering from misrule, injustice, and selfishness, important changes were coming over the society of France. The old nobles retained their ancient privileges: but their social position was gravely altered. Such was the respect due to birth, that nobility once stood alone and unapproachable in society. It was a distinct caste.[4] Nobles rarely married beyond their own privileged circle, and never

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 199.

[2] Taine, *Les Origines*, 507, 508.

[3] Ibid. 482, 505.

[4] 'La noblesse est devenue une caste, c'est-à-dire que sa marque distincte est la naissance.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 124.

CHAP. XII.

without discredit. They were also the only wealthy class: their great possessions placing them far above the reach of rivalry. And when they resided upon their patrimonial estates, their influence over provincial society was unbounded. But their ranks had been thinned by the civil wars; and court life had impaired their fortunes. Their estates were impoverished by neglect and mismanagement; and not all the lavish bounty of the king sufficed to maintain their extravagance. Many sank deeply into debt: some saved themselves from ruin by unequal marriages.[2] Above all, they had wholly abdicated their proper duties, as a governing class. While the country was disturbed by dangerous disorders,—mainly due to their neglect,—they were spending a life of pleasure and frivolity. They were masters of wit and epigram: but they were without statesmanship, patriotism, or a sense of public duty. They had lost their influence over society; and they took no pains to recover it. If they desired power, they sought it through the favour of the king. They had no ambition apart from the court. And thus France was deprived of the guidance of its natural leaders.

Rise of other classes.

Official nobles.

Meanwhile other classes had been rising in French society. While the nobles were becoming poorer, intendants, financiers, merchants and lawyers were growing rich. If they had formed a powerful middle class, controlling the nobles, and representing the interests of the people, they could have done much to repair the evils of French society. But it was their first ambition to be

[1] 'Depuis plusieurs siècles les nobles français n'avaient cessé de s'appauvrir. "Malgré ses priviléges, la noblesse se ruine, et s'anéantit tous les jours, et le tiers-état s'empare des fortunes," écrit tristement un gentilhomme, en 1755.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 117.

ennobled. A part of their wealth was at once invested in the purchase of an office, which conferred the rank and privileges of nobility.[1] The social position of these official nobles was equivocal. By the old *noblesse*, they were still regarded as *roturiers*; and they added nothing to the political power, or social influence, of the nobility. On the other hand, they were viewed with jealousy, by their former equals. Their privileges were invidious; and their pretensions offensive.[2] They were exempt from burthens, which fell the more heavily upon their neighbours; and their pride provoked envy and ridicule. They failed to acquire the respect of the people, like the ancient nobles: while they aggravated the sense of inequality, which had long been rankling in the minds of the unprivileged classes. Unlike the judicial nobles of the Parliaments, whose learning and public services ensured respect, they formed no element of stability in French society.

Capitalists.

But the increasing commerce of France had enriched great numbers of citizens, beyond this privileged circle,—capitalists, bankers, contractors, and merchants. Such men became the chief creditors of the State and of the nobles; and so great were the necessities of the court, that they often suffered losses, and ruinous delays, in the recovery of their debts.[3] Many were richer than their debtors, lived in the same splendour, and vied

[1] In the time of Necker the number of such offices was no less than 4,000.—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 133.

[2] 'Dans certaines provinces, les nouveaux anoblis sont repoussés d'un côté parce qu'on ne les juge pas assez nobles, et de l'autre parce qu'on trouve qu'ils le sont déjà trop.'—Ibid. 134.

[3] Taine, *Les Origines*, 406.

CHAP. XII.

with them in social pretensions.[1] But there was a broad gulf between them. The nobles were gradually relaxing some of their dignity: but they held themselves aloof from the *roturiers*. They borrowed their money, but avoided their company. The capitalists had become a power in the State: but they were estranged from the court and the nobles.[2]

Men of letters.

The only class with whom the nobles associated, upon equal terms, were men of letters. These gave lustre to their *salons*; and enlivened the conversation of the great, with wit and graceful learning. They were courted and flattered,—often receiving attentions due to men of the highest rank.[3] There was no question of their birth, but only of their genius and celebrity. As leaders of public opinion, they might have been powerful auxiliaries of the court and the nobles: but their literary influence was hostile to the higher classes, and was undermining the ancient fabric of French society.

The *bourgeoisie*.

If we search for a middle class in French society, we must look to the *bourgeoisie*. But who were they? There was a time when they had a recognised place in the State. They exercised their municipal franchises; and they were represented as part of the *tiers-état*, in the Estates. But they had lost all these privileges:

[1] 'Ils avaient les mêmes idées, les mêmes habitudes, suivaient les mêmes goûts, se livraient aux mêmes plaisirs, lisaient les mêmes livres, parlaient le même langage. Ils ne différaient plus entre eux que par les droits.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 121.

[2] Ibid. 130.

[3] 'En beaucoup d'occasions, les titres littéraires avaient la préférence sur les titres de noblesse.' . . . 'On voyait fréquemment, dans le monde, des hommes de lettres, du deuxième et du troisième rang, accueillis et traités avec des égards que n'obtenaient pas les nobles de province.'—De Ségur, *Mém.* cited by Taine, *Les Origines*, 390.

they performed no services to their country, or their order: but had become a race of greedy place-hunters. Vast numbers of small offices were created and sold for their gratification.[1] Of these, many thousands exempted the holders from the whole or part of the public burthens, from service in the militia, from the land tax, or the *corvée*. Here were more privileges and inequalities! The petty placeman, who served the king, was set above his fellows. He gave himself the airs of a great man: he contrived to shift the local burthens to the shoulders of his poorer townsmen; and was repaid by their envy and hatred. In every town, the government had created a privileged aristocracy, alienated from the people, useless to the State, and a just cause of popular discontent.

Civic notables.

Nor was the civic aristocracy confined to placemen. The more prosperous burghers were members of corporate companies, or guilds. The municipal functions of these bodies had long since passed away: but their members were notables of the town: they held themselves above their fellow-citizens; and contended for precedence among themselves. The notables claimed to be sprinkled first with holy water: the barbers would not yield the place of honour to the bakers. Such trifling disputes occupied the attention of the intendant, the tribunals, the Parliaments, and even of the king himself.[2] Everywhere there was privilege, inequality, pretension. There was no sound middle class, proud of its position, contented with its lot, and uniting to maintain the

[1] 'De 1693 à 1709, seulement, on calcule qu'il en fut créé quarante mille, presque toutes à la portée des moindres bourgeois.' . . . 'Chacun, suivant son état, dit un contemporain, veut être quelque chose de par le roi.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 137.

[2] Ibid. 141.

CHAP. XII.

public liberties. But there was a *bourgeoisie*, divided against itself, and wholly separated from the people.

The clergy.

Such being the constitution of French society, to whom was the oppressed peasant, or humble artificer, to appeal, for the protection of his interests, and the redress of his wrongs? He could look for little help from the absentee noble, the impoverished squire, the king's host of functionaries, or the city notable. But he had friends and advisers of the middle class, to whom he turned in all his troubles. The *curé* was of the same class as himself: his own lot in life had been hard and unthankful; and he sympathised with the sufferings and wrongs of his afflicted flock. He knew too well the selfishness and indifference of the higher churchmen, and lords of the soil; and he was a daily witness to the painful struggles of his humble brethren. His sympathies were with the poor; and he revolted against the oppression of their rulers. He was poor and ignorant: he could give them little help: but he comforted them in their sorrows, and hoped for better times, when he might serve them.

The lawyers.

But a more powerful adviser was at hand. In every dispute with a landlord, or collector, the lawyer was ready to help his humble clients. He was clever and dexterous: they could seldom read or write: he knew the subtleties of the law, and the tricks of agents and collectors; and he could plead the cause of the poor with skill and boldness. Lawyers[1] swarmed throughout the country; and they exercised a prodigious influence over the people. Like the *curés*, they were of humble birth; and were generally repelled from the society of their privileged neighbours. But in education they

[1] Viz: Avocats, procureurs, notaires.

CHAP. XII.

were superior to all but the highest class, and men of letters. They knew all the abuses of the law, and of official administration; and they were familiar with the new philosophy. At the same time, they resented the social inequalities, under which they smarted; and they perceived, in the wrongs of the people, the means of reforming the intolerable evils of the State. Active and ambitious: with large opportunities of association, among themselves, and with other classes,—they prepared the way for a revolution, in which they were hereafter to play a conspicuous part.[1]

Political and social condition of France.

Such then was the political and social condition of France, in the eighteenth century. There was a monarchy all but absolute: a feudal nobility with oppressive powers, and invidious privileges: a burthensome official aristocracy, with its own privileges and exemptions: an exacting royal administration: injurious monopolies; and an oppressed and suffering people, without political rights. These were evils which threatened the State with danger. They were viewed with indifference by the courtly nobles at Versailles: but they did not escape the notice of an acute English observer. Lord Chesterfield, writing from Paris Dec. 25, 1753, said: 'In short, all the symptoms I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in France.'[2]

The new philosophy.

But where was redress to be sought for the grievances of the people? The states-general might have represented the national wrongs, and withheld subsidies until relief was obtained: but they had long

[1] Taine, *Les Origines*, 518-521.
[2] *Lord Chesterfield's Letters.*

CHAP. XII.

ceased to have a place among the institutions of France. A free press might have awakened the attention of rulers to the dangerous condition of the country: but, until late in the eighteenth century, political discussions were prohibited. Any attack upon the government or its officers was visited with severity: but the utmost license was permitted to the discussion of abstract questions of religion, philosophy, and politics. God might be insulted with impunity: the foundations of society, the rights of property, and the sacred duty of insurrection might be discussed: but let a writer beware how he criticised an intendant.[1] The country needed a bold exposure of existing evils, and a practical discussion of suitable remedies. But the literature of the eighteenth century took a direction ill calculated to redress the wrongs of the people. Instead of pursuing a sober investigation of practical evils, it revelled in abstract speculations. Instead of exposing distinct abuses in Church and State, it assailed religion, and aimed at the reconstruction of society, upon a theoretic basis. A host of brilliant writers were discussing the most momentous questions in religion and politics: but not one contributed to the moral and social improvement of his countrymen. They wrote without practical knowledge, and without serious aims. They knew little of the peasantry: they possessed little sympathy with their wrongs: but they were eloquent in their visions of ideal bliss. For all the ills of an old and

[1] 'Le gouvernement permet de discuter fort librement toutes sortes de théories générales et abstraites, en matière de religion, de philosophie, de morale, et même de politique. Il souffre assez volontiers qu'on attaque les principes fondamentaux sur lesquels reposait alors la société, et qu'on discute jusqu'à Dieu même, pourvu qu'on ne glose point sur ses moindres agents.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 95.

complex society, they could perceive no remedy but in a return to nature. They wrote for theorists and sentimentalists,—not for statesmen or earnest philanthropists.[1]

Voltaire.

The two principal authors of the new philosophy were Voltaire and Rousseau; and for many years the vigorous and versatile intellect of the former exercised the greatest influence over French thought. He united more conspicuous talents than any man of letters, of his own, or perhaps of other, times. Wit, epigram, raillery, satire, ridicule, and argument, were equally at his command. He was at home in every variety of literature,—in history, poetry, the drama, the essay, or the romance. Brilliant in conversation, he was the delight of the most polished society in Europe. Crowned heads were among his disciples. He had little faith in religion, in moral systems, in governments, or in human nature; and he projected no schemes for the regeneration of society. But throughout his long life, he laboured to assail the Church, to shake the national faith, and to overthrow traditions. There was no reverence in his being: he had no respect for authorities: his philosophy was that of a reckless iconoclast. It was his single mission to cast down the cherished idols of his countrymen. His mocking spirit was congenial to the fashionable society of his age: the frivolous courtiers made no secret of their infidelity;

[1] 'Jamais de faits: rien que des abstractions, des enfilades de sentences sur la nature, la raison, le peuple, les tyrans, la liberté, sorte de ballons gonflés et entrechoqués inutilement dans les espaces.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 262. 'Tous pensent qu'il convient de substituer des règles simples et élémentaires, puisées dans la raison et dans la loi naturelle, aux coutumes compliquées et traditionelles, qui régissent la société de leur temps.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 205.

CHAP. XII.

and even the higher ecclesiastics professed little earnestness in the faith of the Catholic Church.[1] His caustic sarcasms were repeated in every *salon*, and inspired the profane wit of minor writers.[2]

Rousseau.

Rousseau formed a singular contrast to his great contemporary. Gifted with an original genius, he was a sublime egotist: a visionary, with a vein of madness: a philosopher whose belief was in fictions. According to his scheme, property was a wrongful appropriation of what belonged to society: government was an usurpation of the common rights of the people. He was the advocate of communism, and of the absolute sovereignty of the people. The existing order of society was the violation of an imaginary social contract, into which men in a state of nature and equality had entered; and all who opposed a return to this state of nature—kings, priests, or nobles—were to be overthrown, as enemies to the human race. The individual rights, interests, and affections of the citizen were to be renounced in favour of the general community. Even the education of children was to be withdrawn from the parents, and entrusted to the State. All the natural instincts, passions and habits of mankind: all the laws, customs, and traditions of society were ignored; and a fanciful contract, opposed to all human experience, was to be assumed as the supreme rule for the government of the world. Voltaire had been first in the work of demolition: Rousseau became the apostle of social reconstruction; and during the latter part of the eighteenth cen-

[1] 'It was as necessary to the character of an accomplished man that he should despise the religion of his country, as that he should know his letters.'—*Macaulay's Essays*, iii. 114 (Ranke's *Hist of the Popes*).

[2] Taine, *Les Origines*, 375–384.

tury, his philosophy was in the ascendant.[1] It was attractive even to the polite circles, who followed Voltaire, and it was accepted with enthusiasm by the middle classes—the provincial lawyers and the *bourgeoisie*. In a land of privileges and inequality, it taught that all men were equal: in the midst of suffering and wrong, it promised the ideal happiness of a primitive society.

Diderot and the Encyclopédie.

A crowd of able writers contributed to the spread of the new philosophy, of whom Diderot was the chief. Powerful in his own resources, he associated with his literary labours a body of learned men, who, in the renowned 'Encyclopédie,' discussed every question in religion, philosophy and politics, with unexampled freedom. The new philosophy was spread throughout Europe; and it was made popular in tracts, tales, and comedies. It gave the tone to all the thought and literature of the age.[2]

Its doctrines were not original:[3] they were borrowed from English philosophers:[4] but in England

[1] 'On peut dire que la seconde moitié du siècle lui appartient.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 354.

'Dans les classes mitoyennes et inférieures, Rousseau a eu cent fois plus de lecteurs que Voltaire.'—Mallet-Dupan, cited by Taine, ibid. 414.

[2] Mr. Lecky maintains that 'a revolutionary movement of some kind was the normal result of the tendencies of the age, and that its chief causes are to be sought entirely outside the discussions of political philosophers,' but he allows that 'they undoubtedly modified, and in a measure directed, the movement that produced them.'—*Rationalism in Europe*, ii. 234.

'Had there been no Voltaire, there would have been no Camille Desmoulins. Had there been no Diderot, there would have been no Marat.'—Lord Lytton, *The Parisians*, ii. 183.

[3] 'Une pareille pensée n'était pas nouvelle: elle passait et repassait sans cesse depuis trois mille ans à travers l'imagination des hommes, sans pouvoir s'y fixer.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 205.

[4] Comte gave Hobbes credit for being the first philosopher of this school:—'C'est surtout à Hobbes, en effet, que remontent historiquement les plus importantes conceptions critiques, qu'un irrationel usage attribue

CHAP. XII.

they had never taken root. They had been confined to the realms of speculation, like perpetual motion and the philosopher's stone. The practical English mind addressed itself to the redress of present grievances, and the amendment of existing laws. It accepted the State and society as it found them, without dreaming of their theoretical reconstruction. But in France, where practical political discussion had long been unknown, and men of letters and wits were the chief disputants, the startling theories of the new school captivated the imagination, and inspired the eloquence, of a host of contemporary writers. The minds of men were unsettled: their faith was shaken in every principle which had hitherto been their guide; and no practicable aims were set before them, to direct their future course.

Opinion in Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Nor were the doctrines of the new school confined to France. They reached the thrones as well as the *salons* of Europe. The brilliant writings of Voltaire touched alike the coarse nature of Frederick the Great of Prussia, the hard instincts of Catherine of Russia, and the liberal spirit of Joseph II. of Austria. Even the Pope, Benedict XIV., was among the number of his disciples. The spirit of free inquiry took possession of despotic rulers, whose influence gave a further impulse to the prevailing sentiment of the times.[1]

The Church and public opinion.

To believe in nothing was the new creed; and how was it to be combated by those who held fast to the old faith? The philosophers, men of letters, and wits,

encore à nos philosophes du xviiie siècle, qui n'en furent essentiellement que les indispensables propagateurs."—*Philos. Pos.* v. 713; and see Taine, *Les Origines*, 330.

[1] See Mill, *Repr. Govt.* 15.

'L'irreligion était répandue parmi les princes et les beaux esprits: elle ne penétrait guère encore dans le sein des classes moyennes et du peuple.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 220.

CHAP. XII.

were its champions: society accepted it: the Church stood alone in resisting it. But the Church had lost much of her influence since the Middle Ages. Her wealth, dignity, and invidious privileges remained: but her spiritual authority had been weakened by the Reformation—by religious controversies—by contentions with the Parliaments—and, above all, by the growing spirit of philosophical inquiry, which marked the eighteenth century. The intellect of France had received a great impulse from the revival of learning in Italy.[1] Religious thought had been awakened by the Reformation: but the Church was immutable in her teaching and her policy: she had repressed all freedom of opinion.

The Huguenots.

Having failed to exterminate the Huguenots, in one age, she had driven them out of France, in another. They were the most prosperous, enlightened, and well-ordered of the king's subjects: they were the flower of the middle classes. If toleration had been extended to them, they would have formed a barrier between the Church and infidelity. Their spirit was earnestly religious; and if they had questioned the doctrines of the Church, they would have discussed them with reverence, while spreading more widely a knowledge of Christian truth. But, left to her own unchanging course, the Church continued to teach the doctrines of the Middle Ages; and left the people in the darkest ignorance. She enjoined obedience, submission, and self-abasement to a people suffering from intolerable wrongs. And, unconscious of danger, she was suddenly confronted by a new class of thinkers, hostile to the Church and to religion itself. The intolerance which had repressed even the modest faith of the Huguenots,

[1] Aug. Thierry, *Essai sur l'Hist du Tiers-Etat*, i. 107, 108.

CHAP. XII.

naturally promoted a reaction. The Church now encountered the most searching criticism of her doctrines and traditions, a scathing exposure of her abuses, and ribald sarcasms upon her faith. And to those who shrank from infidelity, were presented the most attractive pictures of the perfectibility of the human race, and of a social paradise, from which men had hitherto been excluded by cruel barriers which the Church herself had raised. Need it be said that the Church was unequal to the strife? She had lost the great weapon of persecution; and the intellect and temper of the age were opposed to her teaching.[1] Sometimes attempts were made to restrain the license of the press: but they were such as to irritate, rather than to frighten the writers into silence.[2] Prosecuted for irreligion, they redoubled their assaults upon the Church and its doctrines. And authors had now become the most powerful order in the State. They were courted by kings, princes, and nobles: they were worshipped in society: they were flattered by ladies of rank and fashion; and they directed the public opinion of their time.[3]

The lower classes.

But the peasantry, and multitudes of the French people, were still ignorant: few of them could read or write. Philosophical treatises were above their com-

[1] 'No Bossuet, no Pascal came forth to encounter Voltaire.'—*Macaulay's Essays*, iii. 340 (Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*).

[2] 'Les auteurs n'étaient persecutés que dans la mesure qui fait plaindre, et non dans celle qui fait trembler.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 225.

[3] 'Visiblement, dans ce monde, le premier rôle est aux écrivains; on ne s'entretient que de leurs faits et gestes: on ne se lasse pas de leur rendre hommage.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 370.

'La vie politique fut violemment refoulée dans la littérature, et les écrivains, prenant en main la direction de l'opinion, se trouvèrent un moment tenir la place que les chefs de parti occupent d'ordinaire dans les pays libres.'—De Tocqueville, 209.

prehension: even the popular literature could scarcely reach them. But the spirit of the new philosophy had penetrated society. The leaders of thought and action were everywhere possessed by it. Even the courtiers of Louis XV. were apt to mingle with their license and frivolity, a freedom of philosophical thought which threatened their own order. It was natural that they should think lightly of religion: but their speculations spared neither the Church, nor any of the traditions upon which the State and society were founded.[1] The same freedom of discussion was observed in other circles less exalted; and, as at the Reformation, opinions spread rapidly from the thinking classes to the lowly and uneducated; so the spirit of the new philosophy gradually reached deep into the strata of French society. And it was quickened by the growing discontents of the people. If they failed to understand the principles of a philosophy which was discussed so freely, they were yet unsettled by the opinions of others, and prepared to follow those who promised relief from their sufferings, and a happier future. They were not unfaithful to their religion, like the higher classes: but they were moved by visions of earthly happiness.

Absence of healthy public opinion.

If the people had been familiarised, by freedom, with the practical administration of public affairs, they would have been less influenced by dangerous speculations. But political intelligence had been dulled by centralisation: the nobles had long ceased to exercise independent influence over public opinion; and, so far

[1] 'Nous goûtions à la fois les avantages du patriciat, et les douceurs d'une philosophie plébéienne,' said a young noble (De Ségur), cited by Taine, *Les Origines*, 390.

CHAP. XII.

as their influence extended, it was in favour of those theories which were destined to overthrow their own order, and subvert the government on which they rested. Rulers were wholly blind to the dangers by which the State was threatened. They had no such warnings as those which are given in a free State, where the grievances and sentiments of the people are made known. Theoretical writers were confident and powerful: while those classes, by whom the State should have been governed, were inert and without foresight or statesmanship.

Classical learning.

And while the new philosophy was alienating its disciples from the Church and religion, and filling them with aspirations for the political rights of man, the scholarship of the age dwelt with admiration upon the examples of antiquity, and the glories of the Greek and Roman republics. In the courtly dramas of Corneille, and the grave romances of Fénelon, republican virtues were gracefully represented. Ideal characters were easily transformed into living beings, worthy of present imitation. Such studies stimulated the prevailing sentiments of society; and classical names and models were hereafter to assume a conspicuous place in the Revolution.

Political failures of Louis XIV.

Such being the condition of society and of opinion, in the eighteenth century, the reigns of two of the kings who ruled over France, during that period, were adverse to the influence and stability of the throne. The wars of Louis XIV., and his domestic extravagance, tried severely the resources of the State. Taxes were multiplied: but no exactions could supply the needs of the exhausted treasury; and the sufferings of the people were aggravated by the financial embarrassments of

the government. Nor were the disorders of the internal administration reduced by the ascendency of France in Europe. The ambition of Louis XIV. had overreached itself; and his latter days were clouded by failures and reverses. After all the sacrifices of France, the lustre of her great king was fading. His taxes and exactions continued: but his glory was departing.

Reign of Louis XV.

The reign of Louis XV. aggravated all the evils under which France was suffering. The monarchy was degraded by his vices: the nobles and society were debased by his scandalous court. The feebleness of his rule encouraged feuds between the Church and the Parliaments; and discussions were provoked, in which the Crown and all the privileged orders were, in turn, assailed. By an unwarrantable interference with the Parliament of Paris, to screen a minister charged with corruption, he stirred the resentment of the Parliaments; and was driven at last to suppress them, with the strong hand of prerogative. These eminent bodies were supported by public opinion: they were regarded as the only bulwarks against arbitrary power; and their fall left the people wholly at the mercy of a corrupt court, and an oppressive and incapable government.[1]

1771.

The credit of the king was further impaired by his feeble foreign policy and military failures, by the disastrous battle of Rosbach, and the treaty of Paris. France was at once oppressed and dishonoured. Violations of public faith to creditors were already frequent: a national bankruptcy was threatening: the load of taxation was heavier, and more galling than

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 244.

CHAP. XII.

ever: discontents were rife, and ominous disorders prevailed throughout the country. The deplorable policy of the government was assailed with unwonted freedom. The speculative writings of the last fifty years were now succeeded by controversies upon political economy and finance, and other questions directly affecting the administration of the State. Still founding their views upon the abstract principles of the philosophers, they questioned every law and institution of the State, and condemned the abuses under which the country was suffering.[1] And never had there been a time when the monarchy could so ill bear the scrutiny of public opinion. The ignoble reign of Louis XV., in dishonouring the monarchy, had forfeited the loyal veneration of his subjects, and shaken the hereditary throne of the kings of France.[2]

[1] 'Toutes les institutions que la Révolution devait abolir sans retour, ont été l'objet particulier de leurs attaques; aucune n'a trouvé grâce à leurs yeux.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 234.

'Ils ont déjà conçu la pensée de toutes les réformes sociales et administratives que la Révolution a faites, avant que l'idée des institutions libres ait commencé à se faire jour dans leur esprit.'—*Ibid* 235.

[2] Henri Marten, *Hist. de France*, livre cii.; Louis Blanc, *Hist de la Rév. Fr.* i. 422 *et seq.*; Crowe, *Hist. of France*, ch. 35, 36.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRANCE—*continued.*

LOUIS XVI.—REFORMS ARRESTED BY PRIVILEGE—ALLIANCE WITH AMERICAN COLONIES—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—THE STATES-GENERAL—TRIUMPH OF THE COMMONS—PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION—FOREIGN AID INVOKED—EMIGRATION OF NOBLES—THE KING'S FLIGHT—THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES—ABOLITION OF THE MONARCHY—THE KING'S TRIAL AND DEATH.

Accession of Louis XVI., May 14, 1774.

THREATENING, indeed, were the prospects of France, when Louis XVI. ascended the throne: the finances of the State disordered: the people discontented and turbulent: factions embittered: the higher and lower classes hostile: the Crown weakened: the nobles discredited and unpopular: the Parliaments dissolved, but still intractable: a public opinion aroused and inflammable; and a country without a single institution commanding public confidence.[1]

His character.

Never was there a more amiable or virtuous king than Louis XVI., nor one more alive to his own duties and responsibilities. He was ready to redress all the grievances of his subjects, with modest beneficence:

[1] The general narrative of events during this reign, and throughout the Revolution, is mainly founded upon the Histories of Thiers, Mignet, Louis Blanc, Lamartine (*Hist. des Girondins*), Von Sybel, Crowe (*Hist. of France*), De Tocqueville (*L'ancien Régime et la Révolution*). With the widest divergencies of opinion among these writers, there is a general agreement as to the leading events of the period.

CHAP. XIII.

but he was himself without capacity to govern.[1] He had succeeded to a perilous inheritance; and, innocent himself, was doomed to suffer for the faults of his ancestors.

His difficulties.

His reign was opened with reforms. He at once reduced the overgrown royal establishments. He recalled the Parliaments, and commenced the revision of the finances. But the institutions and society of France were unfitted for the safe execution of necessary reforms, and the king was at once in the midst of troubles. For centuries it had been the policy of the State to multiply privileges; and now the time had come when they must be overthrown. His able minister Turgot, relying upon the hearty support of his royal master,[2] grappled at once with some of the worst abuses under which France was suffering. He abolished at once the obnoxious corvée:[3] he wrested trade from the grasp of the guilds, and released it from internal customs dues: he made the system of taxation less burthensome, while he extended it to the nobles and the clergy. He even held out the hope of enlarged political rights, by means of provincial assemblies, and ultimately of the states-general.

The reforms of Turgot.

Opposition of the privileged classes.

Little had the bold and honest reformer calculated upon the opposition which his measures would encounter. But the privileged classes united against him; and he was without that popular support upon which he might have relied in a free country. The court cried

[1] 'Prince équitable, modéré dans ses goûts, négligemment élevé, mais porté au bien par un penchant naturel.'—Thiers, *Hist. de la Rev. Fr.* i. 7.

[2] 'Louis xvi. a répété souvent, "Il n'y a que moi et Turgot, qui soyons les amis du peuple."'—Thiers, *Hist. de la Rev. Fr.* i. 7.

[3] In the preamble to the edict, the king condemned this impost in the most forcible language.—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 266.

out against his measures as ruinous to the Crown and the aristocracy; and the Duke of Orleans fomented riots, in the streets of Paris, against a reforming minister, who was striving to redress the wrongs of the people. Turgot had none to support him but the king himself; and he, at length, gave way to the influence of his court and the clamours of misguided mobs. A firmer will than his might possibly have prevailed: yet how was such a combination of powerful interests to be overborne? The people, for whose benefit these reforms were proposed, were ignorant, and without political rights: there was no party or popular organisation: no representative chamber. The Parliament of Paris, itself a privileged body, hotly espoused the cause of the nobles and the guilds. The intelligence, as well as the power of the country, was on the side of privilege. The minister fell: his healing measures were summarily revoked; and a policy of reaction was commenced. Such reforms as those of Turgot, approved by the people and accepted by the privileged classes, might have averted the revolution. They anticipated, by several years, the scheme of the revolution itself. They were the commencement of a remedial policy, which would gradually have mitigated the sufferings, and appeased the discontents of the people. Now they proclaimed abuses, without correcting them, raised hopes and disappointed them, and revealed the power and selfishness of the privileged classes, already hated by the people.[1]

[1] De Tocqueville says:—'L'expérience apprend que le moment le plus dangereux pour un mauvais gouvernement est d'ordinaire celui où il commence à se réformer.' 'Le mal qu'on souffrait patiemment comme inévitable, semble insupportable dès qu'on conçoit l'idée de s'y soustraire.'—

CHAP. XIII.

The war of American independence.

These events were soon followed by the recognition of the revolted American colonies, and the war with England. Here was another prelude to revolution. Already the minds of men,—not in France only, but throughout Europe,—had been disturbed by the discussion of abstract political rights; and now the king of France was the ally of the rebellious subjects of another monarch, and supporting the foundation of a democratic republic.[1] It was the realisation of the dreams of Rousseau: it was the theory of popular philosophers, reduced to practice by American statesmen, and approved and maintained by the king of France. And when the great republic was fully established, as an independent State, it afforded an example of freedom and equality, unknown in the previous history of the world.

Expenses of the war.

Nor was it only by the spread of democratic sentiments, that this war advanced the cause of revolution. Costly armaments had been undertaken, with an ill-furnished exchequer: the resources of taxation were almost exhausted: a loose administration of the finances permitted heavy arrears and deficits; and a reckless system of loans was hurrying on the State to bankruptcy. Meanwhile the inordinate expenses of the court were not reduced. Necker, who had succeeded Turgot, fell in attempting to restrain them: Calonne sought favour with the courtiers, by giving free scope to their extravagance.

L'ancien Régime, 259. We must, however, guard ourselves against the conclusion, that it is safer to maintain abuses than to correct them.

[1] 'La France présidait à l'origine d'une nation libre, et elle avait mis elle-même la main dans ce berceau.'—Edgar Quinet, *La Rév.* i. 48.

'Par quel vertige les amis d'un roi absolu l'avaient-ils poussé à tendre la main à des insurgents?'—Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* ii. 45.

CHAP. XIII.

Meanwhile, the king and his ministers were introducing further reforms into the administration. In 1779, provincial assemblies were revived, in many parts of France, and somewhat later throughout the realm; and they applied themselves with great zeal to the discussion of the grievances of the people.[1] In 1787, they were entrusted with considerable powers,—executive and administrative,—and encroached upon the functions of the intendants. Local self-government, so long unknown, was suddenly endowed with life and activity. Useful reforms were made; and in several of the provinces the nobles and clergy displayed a praiseworthy desire to relieve the people, and to contribute their due share to the public burthens.[2] But generally they exposed abuses, without redressing them, and inflamed discontents, instead of allaying them. Meanwhile these elective assemblies became masters of the *seigneurs*; and the revolution was half effected by the State itself.[3]

Provincial assemblies revived.

Another critical reform, at this period, was the publication of Necker's memorable '*compte rendu.*' A system of loans was necessarily founded upon public credit; and, to satisfy the capitalists, whose money he was anxious to borrow, Necker, for the first time, published a full account of the receipts and expenditure of the State. Whatever its effect upon the public creditors, its consequences were otherwise momentous. It revealed the monstrous extravagance of the court: it enabled the people to contrast the excessive emoluments of the nobles, who engrossed all the higher

Necker's *compte rendu.* 1781.

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 270.

[2] Taine, *Les Origines*, 392-396; De Lavergne, *Les Assemblées Provinciales.*

[3] De Tocqueville, ch. vii.

CHAP. XIII.

offices of the State, and in the army, with the niggardly pay of the minor civil functionaries, and of the neglected soldiers—all men of the people;—and it acknowledged the new principle of public responsibility. Hitherto the government had been accountable to no one: henceforth it became accountable to the country and to public opinion.

Public opinion.

The discussion of reforms had stimulated public opinion, throughout the country. Already awakened by the controversies of previous reigns,[1] it had now acquired an extraordinary influence. The king was still absolute in theory: but he was constrained to consult and to flatter it.[2] The press had cast off all restraints, and was freely discussing the measures of the government. Without free institutions, the monarchy was surrounded by the irregular forces of democracy.

An assembly of notables. January, 1787.

At length, in 1787, bankruptcy could no longer be averted, except by a new financial policy; and Calonne revived the remedial schemes of Turgot. Warned by the experience of his predecessors, he endeavoured to propitiate the privileged classes, by submitting his plans to an assembly of notables:[3] but, far from giving him support, they urged his removal from office. The Parliament of Paris also condemned his measures. Again the court, and the privileged classes, were too strong for a reforming minister, however urgent the public necessities; and Calonne, like his far worthier

[1] See *supra*, p. 126.

[2] 'Dès 1784, Necker disait dans un document public, comme un fait incontesté: "La plupart des étrangers ont peine à se faire une idée de l'autorité qu'exerce en France aujourd'hui l'opinion publique; ils comprennent difficilement ce que c'est cette puissance invisible, qui commande jusque dans le palais du roi.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 256.

[3] There had been no assembly of notables since 1626, under Richelieu.

CHAP. XIII.

predecessors, was sacrificed to their resentment. But it was not enough to reject his schemes: the evils he was attempting to surmount were beyond dispute, and demanded instant remedies. His successor, De Brienne, appealed to the Parliament of Paris for its assent to new taxes. It refused; and the king endeavoured to coerce it, and other Parliaments who made common cause with it, by an arbitrary use of his prerogatives, unsuited to the times, and resented by public opinion. He even exiled the members of the Parliament of Paris—235 in number—to Troyes, by *lettres de cachet*. And having recalled the Parliament, he ventured, in ominous imitation of Charles I., to arrest two of its leading members—D'Espremenil and Goislart—in the hall of the Parliament itself. It was now too late to govern by prerogative; and the two bodies which had been consulted, on behalf of the nation, were opposed to the Crown.

August 6.

The states-general.

Some new course was inevitable; and the Parliament of Paris had already demanded that the states-general should be assembled, to devise measures for the relief of the country.[1] It was nearly two hundred years since this disused and almost forgotten body had been called into existence.[2] The policy of reviving such an assembly, at this critical time, was distrusted by the government as uncertain, if not dangerous. But it was advocated by powerful classes, who hoped to strengthen their own interests: it was honestly desired by many, as a national council suited to the emergency: it was prayed for by the distressed peasantry, as the only hope of relief; and it was demanded by the enemies of the court and the government, as a means

[1] Thiers, *Hist. de la Rév.* i. 14.

[2] Its last meeting was in 1614. See *supra*, pp. 92, 93.

CHAP. XIII.

of embarrassment, and possibly of disorder. And, at length, the king, distracted by divided councils, but leaning to a liberal policy, resolved upon this hazardous venture, and convoked the states-general.[1] Meanwhile De Brienne retired, and Necker was restored to power.

Jan 24, 1789.

Hazard of the experiment.

The approaching experiment was fraught with danger. Under an established constitution it is difficult to forecast the result of an appeal to the people: but in France everything was uncertain—the electors, the members, and the constitution of the body itself, and the relations of its different orders. The notables were again assembled to advise upon these matters: but afforded little aid to the government. The ministry settled that the deputies of the *tiers-état*, elected by nearly universal suffrage, should be double the number of the other orders. Yet it was not determined whether the three orders should sit apart, as in former times, or sit and vote together, in a single chamber. The one course assured the ancient ascendency of the nobles and the clergy: the latter at once transferred their power to the lowest order, which had hitherto been without political influence. This critical question was hotly discussed by the two parties: the nobles denouncing any infraction of their rights: the popular party insisting upon a scheme which promised them an easy triumph. And it was asked why was the number of the commons double that of each of the other orders, unless with a view to their powers of voting? Meanwhile the elections were held, with this important question still unsettled.

The *cahiers*.

This uncertainty increased the excitement, which was marked by some threatening riots. The popular

[1] For May 5, 1789.

CHAP. XIII.

cause was signally advanced by another incident of the elections. In each district, the electors were invited to prepare a statement of their grievances, for the instruction of the deputies, known as *cahiers*; and thus were brought together, and discussed, the most formidable indictments against the entire polity of the State.[1] They were generally drawn up by the lawyers, who, having been familiar with the sufferings of their neighbours, promptly assumed the position of their advisers and leaders at this crisis. The discontents of the people were universal; and they received expression in such a form as to command attention. Reforms amounting to revolution were everywhere demanded; and a new and untried assembly was about to consider them.

State of parties.

At this time, the king and his ministers were at issue with the nobles, and in conflict with the Parliaments: the treasury was empty: the people were famishing: factions were raging furiously; and public opinion was disturbed and threatening. Even the fidelity of the troops was doubtful: the officers leaning to their noble order; and the soldiers sympathising with the wrongs of the peasant class, and having discontents of their own.[2]

Composition of the assembly.

The result of the elections marked the dominant feelings of the country. Many of the nobles, indoctrinated with the new philosophy, were reformers and

[1] Chassin published a collection of these *cahiers*, which De Tocqueville justly calls 'un document unique dans l'histoire.' Again he says, 'Quand je viens à réunir ensemble tous ces vœux particuliers (des trois ordres), je m'aperçois avec une sorte de terreur, que ce qu'on réclame est l'abolition simultanée et systématique de toutes les lois, et de tous les usages ayant cours dans le pays: je vois sur-le-champ qu'il va s'agir d'une des plus vastes et des plus dangereuses révolutions qui aient jamais paru dans le monde.'—*L'ancien Régime*, 211.

[2] Four months after the opening of the states-general, there were 16,000 deserters roving about Paris.—Taine, *Les Origines*, 515.

CHAP. XIII.

philanthropists: but the majority sternly maintained the rights of their order. The great body of the delegates from the clergy were *curés*,[1] having an earnest sympathy with the people. They had boldly demanded the redress of all the popular grievances, and they asserted the right of the people to tax themselves, through their representatives.[2] Of the 600 deputies from the *tiers-état*,[3] there were no less than 374 lawyers;[4]—the authors and instigators of the *cahiers*: there were men of letters, artists, and citizens; but few country gentlemen. The noble, Mirabeau, expelled from his own order, and the Abbé Sieyès, had cast their lot with the commons. It was a body intent upon reforms, and a sturdy foe to privileges. Its mission was to satisfy the complaints of the people; and it was burning to resist the pretensions of the nobles and the Church.[5]

Meeting of the states-general.

On May 5, the states-general were opened, by the king himself, in the *Salle des Menus*, at Versailles, according to the stately ceremonial of 1614. The clergy assembled on his right, the nobles on the left, and the modest commons at the lower end of the chamber.[6] The king and his ministers were welcomed

[1] Mr. Carlyle says of them, 'who, indeed, are properly little other than commons disguised in curate-frocks.'—*Fr. Rev.* b. iv. ch. 4.

[2] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 168, 169; Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* ii. 221.

[3] The total number of deputies to the states-general was 1214, one half of whom were from the *tiers-état*.

[4] Bonillé, *Mém.* i. 68.

[5] 'Ce ne sont ni les impôts, ni les lettres de cachet, ni tous les autres abus de l'autorité, ce ne sont point les vexations des intendants, et les longueurs ruineuses de la justice qui ont le plus irrité la nation: c'est la préjugé de la noblesse par lequel elle a manifesté plus de haine.'—Rivarol, *Mém.* cited by Taine, *Les Origines*, 419.

[6] The ceremony was marked by a significant incident. When the king, being seated upon his throne, put on his hat, the clergy and nobles

with hearty acclamations, and his majesty's generous and earnest speech was received with applause. But here ended all that was hopeful, on this remarkable day. Neither the king nor his ministers, Barentin and Necker, who afterwards addressed the states, proposed a certain policy, or specific measures of relief: but, proclaiming the urgent necessities of the country, they appealed to the wisdom and patriotism of the assembly; whom they cautioned against extreme measures, and invited to union.

Sittings of the Estates.

The supreme question of the separate or united voting of the orders, was left to the determination of those rival orders themselves: not, however, without intimations that the ancient usage was favoured by the government. This fatal hesitation was due to the distracted councils of the king's advisers. The king himself would have shared his prerogatives with the people, for the common good: but neither the clergy, the nobles, nor the court were prepared to sacrifice their own interests or privileges. They had successfully resisted the king and his reforming ministers, Turgot, Necker and Calonne; and they would not submit to the despised commons. The position was, indeed, embarrassing. If the orders voted separately, there was little hope of satisfaction to the people: if they voted together, there was immediate hazard of revolution. But to leave the orders, who hated and distrusted one another, to determine their own rights, was an invitation to anarchy.

The two higher orders now sat apart in their

proceeded to cover themselves, according to ancient custom; when, for the first time, the commons asserted the like privilege, in the presence of royalty.

CHAP. XIII.

The commons assume to be the National Assembly.

respective chambers, leaving the commons, as the largest body, in possession of the great hall;[1] and proceeded to the separate verification of their powers. The commons, being resolved that there should be no separation of orders, insisted that the verification of the powers of the three Estates should be conducted by the entire body; and awaited the coming of the two other orders. Their inaction assured their ultimate triumph. They were united to a man; while many of the nobles were on their side: they commanded the sympathies of the inferior clergy; and they were supported by the people. After five weeks of fruitless negotiations, the commons took a bolder step; and declared themselves

June 17, 1789.

'the National Assembly.'[2] It was an act of usurpation which marked the commencement of the revolution. Nor was it a mere declaration of right: it was followed by decrees designed to ensure their own authority. Taxes imposed by the Crown were declared illegal: but their collection was provisionally allowed, during the sitting of the National Assembly. The public debts were consolidated, to the great satisfaction of the public creditors; and a committee of subsistence was appointed to provide for the wants of the people. As they were thus assuming superior legislative power, it was clear that they must be put down, or that the Crown, and the two other orders, must associate themselves with their labours. The court persuaded the king to adopt the former course; and, on the plea of an approaching royal *séance*, the doors of the hall were closed against the Assembly. The commons at once

[1] *La Salle des Etats.*

[2] Edgar Quinet truly says, 'Ce nom, qui évoquait la nation, était déjà la victoire.'—*La Révolution*, i. 76.

adjourned to the racket court, where they swore not to separate until they had given a constitution to France. The racket court being soon closed against them, they adjourned to the church of St. Louis; and here they were joined by the majority of the clergy. June 20. June 22.

On the following day the king came, in state, to the hall of the states-general, rebuked the Assembly, and annulled its decrees as illegal. He directed that the separate orders should be maintained: announced certain reforms, comprised in thirty-five articles, which he invited the states-general to accept; and intimated that, unless they were agreed to, he should himself promote the welfare of his people.[1] At the same time, he threatened them with a dissolution. In conclusion, he ordered the deputies to separate. The nobles and the clergy at once left the hall: but the commons refused to move. Reminded of the king's orders by his usher, De Brézé, they replied, by the mouth of Mirabeau, 'Go, Monsieur, tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people; and that nothing but the force of bayonets shall send us hence.' They resolved to persist in their decrees, which the king had just condemned; and voted the inviolability of their members. This defiance of the king's authority, instead of being met by the threatened dissolution, was submitted to by the court; and from that day, power passed into the hands of the Assembly. The king comes, in state, to the hall of the Assembly. June 23.

Another victory was soon gained by the popular party. The Assembly, resuming its sittings in the church of St. Louis, was at once joined by the clergy, who had sat there before, and in a few days by forty-seven nobles, including the Duke of Orleans, and at last by the entire body of the nobles and clergy. The union of the orders Union of the orders. June 27.

[1] 'Seul je ferai le bien de mes peuples.'

CHAP. XIII.

was now complete, and the ascendency of the commons was assured.[1] The two foremost Estates of the realm were, in truth, effaced from the constitution of France; and the Crown itself had lost its sovereignty.[2]

Dismissal of Necker.

The court had sustained a grave discomfiture: but it was not even yet too late to initiate reforms, and assume the direction of the popular movement: but, unhappily, the reactionary party again prevailed in the king's councils. It was determined to overawe the Assembly: its hall was surrounded by a foreign soldiery; and large bodies of troops were concentrated upon Versailles, upon Paris and its environs. When these

July 11.

military preparations were completed, Necker was dismissed, and banished from France.

Taking of the Bastile.

Hitherto the issue had been between the court and the Assembly: it was now a conflict between the government and the people. The Parisians rushed to arms,

July 14, 1789.

and the troops refused to fight against them: the Bastile was stormed; and the capital was in the hands of the populace.[3] The king now came to the Assembly, assured them of his confidence, and promised the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Paris and Ver-

July 27.

sailles. On the following day he visited Paris, without guards, and was received with loyal demonstrations. But he was forced to humble himself before the people. Waving his hat, decked with the insurrectionary cockade, from the windows of the Hôtel de

[1] 'Jusqu'à ce jour, du moins, la bourgeoisie fut la Révolution: elle fut le peuple.'—Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* ii. 315.

[2] 'La royauté n'était plus au palais de Louis xvi.: elle était à la Salle des Etats.'—Ibid. 313.

[3] On hearing of these events from the Duke de Liancourt, the king said, 'C'est une révolte!' 'Non, sire,' replied the Duke, 'c'est une révolution.'

CHAP. XIII.

Ville, he aroused transports of enthusiasm from the crowd below. He had made his peace, for a time, with his capital: but he had worn the badge of the revolution, and played the part of a citizen king.[1] The policy of the court had been foiled; and Necker was recalled from his exile.

Necker recalled. July 17.

Alarming disorders. July 1790.

Paris, with its popular magistrates and national guards, reconciled for a time to the king, was, however, independent. Other cities followed its example, and electing new magistrates, and enrolling national guards, sided with the popular cause. In the provinces there were grave disorders: castles were burnt down: nobles and country gentlemen were murdered; and their title-deeds destroyed by the peasantry: monasteries and farmhouses were plundered: estates were forcibly occupied by squatters: rents and services were withheld from the proprietors: tax-gatherers were hunted down like wild beasts: the peasantry roved over fields and forests in pursuit of game, which they cooked on the spot with wood from the plantations of their seigneurs. Life and property were a prey to agrarian anarchy.[2]

Deliberations of the Assembly.

The three orders being now united, the Assembly,—henceforward called the Constituent Assembly,—consisted of more than twelve hundred members: a number excessive for deliberation, and liable to sudden and uncontrollable impulses. Its members had come recently

[1] 'Le souverain féodal venait de disparaître; il ne restait plus en France qu'un monarque, chef des bourgeois.'—Louis Blanc, *Hist.* ii. 422.

[2] So early as July 1790, the Constituent Assembly received a report that 'property was everywhere the prey to brigandage: that on all sides castles were burned, convents wrecked, and farms given up to pillage: that all seignorial rights were at an end: that the laws were without force, the magistrates without authority, and justice but a phantom which was sought in vain in the tribunals.'—Nettement, *Vie de M. la Marquise de la Rochejaquelein*, 71.

CHAP. XIII.

from their constituents, who were aroused to a keen sense of their wrongs, and expected immediate relief from their representatives: while the prevailing excitement in Paris, and in the provinces, could not fail to influence their deliberations. As public life in France had long been suppressed, by centralised administration, there were no men, in all this vast body, trained to statesmanship, or qualified by experience, or political reputation, to direct its counsels, and guide it through the fearful dangers by which it was surrounded. The nobles were unaccustomed to deliberative bodies: they had never practised public speaking, or the politic management of men of different classes.[1] No ministers of the Crown were there to concert a policy, upon which the executive and legislative authorities might agree: but jealousy and suspicion were rife between them. There were parties indeed,—the right, or royalist; the centre, or constitutional; and the left, or democratic:—but there was little party organisation, or concerted action, which might have given consistency to the policy of the Assembly. It was without any rules or traditions of order. A hundred deputies would rise together, and insist upon being heard. They even read their speeches.[2] Motions were made, and decrees passed, without notice, and upon the sudden impulse of the moment.[3] Its galleries were filled with strangers, who

[1] 'Jamais conducteurs d'hommes n'ont tellement désappris l'art de conduire les hommes, art qui consiste à marcher sur la même route, mais en tête, et à guider leur travail en y prenant part.'—Taine, *Les Origines*, 64.

[2] Arthur Young's *Travels*, i. 111 *et seq.*

[3] This practice was continued throughout the revolutionary period, and has not been corrected in recent times. Under the presidency of M. Thiers, critical votes were taken without notice, *e.g.* on the vote of confidence, Nov. 30, 1872.

cheered and hissed, without a check, and interrupted the debates with threatening clamours. Its foremost member was Mirabeau,—a man distinguished, above all his rivals, by genius, eloquence, and statesmanship; and, in the early stages of the revolution, all his influence was used to forward the popular cause. The Abbé Sieyès, great in constitution-making, found ample scope for his inventive talents, in this political chaos; and Talleyrand, the bishop of Autun, was preparing to sacrifice his Church to the revolutionary cause, and his own ambition. General Lafayette, overflowing with vanity, moved by a restless ambition, and fresh from American politics, was ready to proclaim the rights of man, while he secured his own ascendency. D'Orleans, a prince of the blood, sat dark and silent, on the left, as an enemy of the court. Robespierre was there, not yet a conspicuous figure, but brooding over the future.

Renunciation of privileges. August 4, 1789.

The people were clamouring for reforms, and the Assembly promptly ministered to their impatience. There was a general uprising against feudal rights; and, in a sudden outburst of enthusiasm, the orders agreed to the renunciation of class privileges, and a wholesale redress of grievances. Feudal rights were redeemed, and personal servitude abolished: tithes were discontinued: exemptions from taxes renounced: plurality of offices surrendered: the exclusive rights in game, and various other feudal privileges and jurisdictions, condemned. In a single night, nearly all the grievances of the people were redressed.[1] The nobles and the Church renounced the privileges which it had taken them centuries of struggle and usurpation to acquire. Just and

[1] Thiers, *Hist.* i. 123 *et seq.*; Mignet, *Hist.* i. 100; Von Sybel, *Hist.* i. 84; Louis Blanc, *Hist.* ii. 484.

CHAP. XIII.

necessary as were these concessions, they were made, not with the judgment of lawgivers, but with the rashness and impulsiveness of revolutionists; and so sudden an interference with existing rights, without securities for the maintenance of order, gave a fresh impulse to anarchy.

Hopes of a moderate constitution.

The revolution had now wrested power from the hands of the king, and privileges from the Church and the nobles: but it had not yet overthrown the framework of the government. The king still reigned, but with a limited authority: an Assembly representing all classes of the people, and generally animated with sentiments of patriotism and moderation, was preparing to secure the fruits of the great national movement to which it owed its birth. At this period, indeed, it seemed possible that the revolution would assume a constitutional form. But the Assembly was divided into three principal parties, whose principles and aims, and whose relations to the government, prevented the solution of constitutional difficulties. The right, consisting chiefly of nobles and ecclesiastics, clung obstinately to the old *régime*: the centre desired moderate reforms, and constitutional liberty: the left were the revolutionary party,—advocates of the rights of man,—enemies of the Church and the nobles,—and though not yet republicans,[1] hostile to the Crown. The work of reconstruction was discussed: but in vain. An idle, vapouring, and mischievous declaration of the rights of man was, indeed, adopted:[2] but a definite constitution could not

Parties in the Assembly.

[1] Camille Desmoulins said, 'Nous n'étions pas alors plus de dix républicains en France.'—Louis Blanc, *Rév. Fr.* livr. ii. ch. 4.

[2] 'La France rompant avec le passé, et voulant rémonter à l'état de nature, dut aspirer à donner une déclaration complète de tous les droits de l'homme et du citoyen.'—Thiers, *Hist.* i. 137. See also Comte, *Phil. Pos.* vi. 358, 360, 398.

CHAP. XIII.

be agreed upon. A senate, or second chamber, was proposed: but the nobles naturally desired to make it the means of recovering their power; and who could seriously hope that the commons, who had so lately triumphed over the two other Estates, would suddenly agree to restore a separate chamber, of equal authority with their own? Again, it was proposed to secure to the king a *veto* upon all legislative acts of the Assembly: but this was considered by the popular party too great a power, and the veto was restricted to the duration of two assemblies.[1]

Condition of Paris.

But, in truth, the passions of the different parties concerned in the revolution, were too heated to allow a peaceful settlement of the momentous questions now at issue. Paris was excited and turbulent: the clubs were maintaining a dangerous agitation; and multitudes of the people were starving. At the very time when the central government had been dangerously weakened, the power of the municipality of Paris was no less dangerously increased. Its mayor was a great political personage: its national guard was an army of 30,000 men, ever on the spot; while the king's forces were jealously removed from the capital. Its general, Lafayette, at once a soldier and a politician, was master of the city and of the State. Its constitution was essentially democratic. The municipal administration was vested in a large body of representatives,—originally 120, but soon increased to 300: while every section had its own noisy assembly to dictate to the Hôtel de Ville.

Government of Paris.

Its people.

Every great city has its dangerous classes: they swarm in the back streets, courts and alleys: they are

[1] Thiers, *Hist.* i. 141-152.

CHAP. XIII.

to be seen amidst the crowds of the greater thoroughfares. No one can walk among them, watch their countenances, and overhear their language, without wondering how the peace and safety of society can be guarded. But Paris, at this period, surpassed all other cities,—except perhaps ancient Rome,—in the disproportionate numbers of its poor, wretched, unemployed, and desperate inhabitants,—included in the comprehensive term of *prolétaires*. France had, for generations, been infested with crowds of vagrants and beggars.[1] Of these, multitudes swarmed to the capital: the disorders of the time increased their number: thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment by the disorganisation of society: the smaller employers suffered as much as the workmen; and there was a fearful scarcity of food. A partial and inadequate poor-law was quite unequal to cope with such prodigious pauperism; and the police, in Paris, as elsewhere, was scanty and ill-organised. Such were the elements of disorder and violence, at a time of fevered political excitement. The people, suffering and excited, grossly ignorant and credulous, were exposed to the wildest delusions. Democratic newspapers aroused their passions; and inflammatory placards appealed to them, upon all the walls of the capital. Journalism was a new force in the Revolution.[2] The artful whispers of revolutionary agents, and the declamations of mob-orators, goaded them to madness. There were turbulent meetings in the sections, and in the Palais Royal:

[1] In 1789 the number was estimated at 2,000,000.—Louis Blanc, *Hist.* livr. iv. ch. 2.

[2] A full account of the journalism of this period will be found in Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* iii. 121 *et seq.*

there were riots in the streets,—sometimes the natural fruits of anarchy,—sometimes provoked by the secret machinations and the bribes of revolutionary demagogues. Society was seething with tempestuous passions; and the gold of Orleans, and other dark conspirators, was not wanting to inflame them.[1]

Order was partially maintained by the municipal authorities and the national guard: seditious meetings in the Palais Royal were prohibited: restraints were put upon the press:[2] a police force was organised by General Lafayette: public workshops were provided for the unemployed poor: the municipal funds were exhausted in furnishing cheap bread to the people; and at length, the State was obliged to save the multitude from starving.

Immediate danger was averted by these expedients: but the general condition of Paris was aggravated. Cheap bread, and public wages for nominal work, attracted crowds to the capital, bringing with them fresh elements of discontent and turbulence; and not long afterwards it was found necessary to close the public workshops.[3] It was soon to be seen how little these masses could be controlled by authority; and how easily they could be stirred to insurrection.

The clubs.

But the force of the revolution was mainly derived

[1] For evidence as to these transactions, see Mirabeau, *Corr.*; Bailly, *Mém.* ii. 293; Croker, *Essays*, pp. 50, 70; Von Sybel, *Hist.* i. 76, 114, 119, 124, 132; Lord Auckland's *Corr.* ii. 365; Ducoin, *Philippe d'Orléans*, 72. Speaking of the alleged bribes of the Duke of Orleans, M. Thiers says:—'Du reste, cette influence n'est point à compter parmi les causes de la révolution, car ce n'est pas avec un peu d'or, et des manœuvres secrètes qu'on ébranle une nation de vingt-cinq millions d'hommes.'—*Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* i. 80. This portion of his history is strongly criticised by Croker.

[2] No printed matter was to be issued without the name of an editor

[3] July 1, 1790.

CHAP. XIII.

from the clubs and political associations. Here men were brought together to discuss their grievances, and give vent to their fierce passions. The club orators were the true apostles of the revolution. Speculation gave way to political action; and the ambition of leaders, and the hot zeal of partisans, lashed an ignorant and famishing people to fury.[1] The most powerful and dangerous of these clubs was that of the Jacobins, which was to play a decisive part in the revolution. For Danton and other revolutionists, however, even this club was not violent enough; and they founded the more hot-headed Cordeliers. Another club,—the Feuillants,—established by Lafayette and Bailly, was too moderate to excite the passions of the crowd.[2] These clubs were formidable enough in themselves: but they became more dangerous by the union and correspondence of numbers of affiliated societies.[3]

Reaction attempted by the Court.

While the popular party were busy in the Assembly, in the clubs, and among the populace of Paris, the court were smarting under the indignities to which the king had already been exposed, and the abasement of the nobles. They were powerless in the Assembly; and despaired of recovering their position otherwise than by force. The king still had an army.

[1] 'Jamais les livres ne produiront une révolution durable, si l'on n'y ajoute la parole publique. C'est elle seule qui porte et communique la vie.' 'Si la seizième siècle n'avait eu que des écrivains, jamais il n'aurait enfanté la Réforme. Il fallut que les théologiens devinssent missionnaires. Les livres de Luther, de Calvin, de Zwingle firent des théologiens. Leur parole vivante répetée, commentée par des orateurs émus, fit la révolution religieuse.'—Edgar Quinet, *La Rév.* i. 72.

[2] Thiers, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* i. 213, ii. 12 *et seq.*; Carlyle, *Hist. of the Fr. Rev.* b. ii. ch. 5.

[3] 'The Paris Jacobins became the mother society, Société Mère; and had as many as three hundred shrill-tongued daughters in direct correspondence with her.'—Carlyle, *Hist. of the Fr. Rev.* b. ii. ch. 5.

Why not leave Versailles, and, surrounded by his faithful soldiers, defy his enemies, and trample down sedition? Reaction was again attempted by a display of military force at Paris and Versailles; and sinister rumours were spread of a sudden dissolution of the Assembly, and a *coup d'état*. They were confirmed by the festivities of the king's bodyguard at the castle, in which the officers, with loud demonstrations of loyalty, trampled upon the national cockades, and decked themselves with the white cockade of the Bourbons. These threats of military reaction, while they irritated and alarmed the revolutionists, were not sufficient to overawe them. They were met by frantic excitement in Paris, by the celebrated march of the women upon Versailles, by the invasion of the castle itself by a riotous mob, and by the enforced removal of the king and his family to Paris.

The banquets of the king's bodyguards. Oct. 1 and 3, 1789.

Oct. 5 and 6.

The king was henceforth at the mercy of the mob. Deprived of his guards, and at a distance from his army, he was in the centre of the revolution; and surrounded by an excited and hungry populace. He was followed to Paris by the Assembly; and, for the present, was protected from further outrages by Lafayette and the national guards. Mirabeau, who was now in secret communication with the court, warned the king of his danger, in the midst of the revolutionary capital. 'The mob of Paris,' he said, 'will scourge the corpses of the king and queen.' He saw no hope of safety for them, or for the State, but in their withdrawal from this pressing danger, to Fontainebleau or Rouen, and in a strong government, supported by the Assembly, pursuing liberal measures, and quelling anarchy. His counsels were frustrated by events; and

The king at Paris.

CHAP. XIII.

the revolution had advanced too far to be controlled by this secret and suspected adviser of the king.[1]

Other measures of the Assembly.

Meanwhile, the Assembly was busy with further schemes of revolution and desperate finance. France was divided into departments: the property of the Church was appropriated to meet the urgent necessities of the State: the disastrous *assignats* were issued: the subjection of the clergy to the civil power was decreed: the Parliaments were superseded, and the judicature of the country was reconstituted, upon a popular basis: titles of honour, orders of knighthood, armorial bearings—even liveries—were abolished: the army was reorganised, and the privileges of birth were made to yield to service and seniority.[2] All Frenchmen were henceforth equal, as '*citoyens*;' and their new privileges were wildly celebrated by the planting of trees of liberty. The monarchy was still recognised: but it stood alone, in the midst of revolution.

June 20, 1790.

New constitution proclaimed. July 12, 1790.

This new constitution was accepted by the king, and consecrated by a pompous ceremony in the Champ de Mars: but the revolution, as it advanced, had raised hosts of enemies who were combining to arrest it. Every power, interest and privilege had been assailed; and the most powerful classes of society were arrayed against it. The king had sworn to observe the new constitution: but he found himself

[1] The relations of Mirabeau with the court have since been fully revealed in the interesting *Correspondance entre le Comte de Mirabeau et le Comte de la Marck pendant les années* 1789, 1790 et 1791. Par M. de Bacourt, 1851. Mr. Reeve 'can discover no evidence of the common, but conjectural belief, that if the life of Mirabeau had been prolonged, it would have fared otherwise with the French revolution.'—*Royal and Republican France*, i. 236.

[2] Thiers, *Hist.* i. 226 *et seq.* It is to be noted that on Feb. 24, 1790, the Constituent Assembly decreed the equal division of property, among children, without a single protest on the part of the nobles.

stripped of his kingly attributes, separated from his friends, a prisoner in the midst of a jealous and turbulent mob, and exposed, at any moment, to insult and outrage. The nobles had lost their power, their privileges and their titles: the clergy their property and independence: the provincial parliaments, judges and other functionaries, their time-honoured jurisdictions: officers in the army their birthright of promotion. And large bodies of moderate and thoughtful men were alarmed by the rapid movements of the revolution, the collapse of every recognised authority, and the absorption of power by popular municipalities, national guards, revolutionary clubs, restless agitators, and a riotous populace. The hasty and impulsive legislation of the Assembly had spread anarchy throughout France.

Foreign aid invoked.

In vain the nobles and the clergy attempted to stir up the people, in the provinces, against the Assembly. With the country at large the new laws were popular: they had redressed many flagrant abuses, and had relieved the peasantry from oppression and wrong. Nor had absentee nobles much influence over neighbours and dependents, to whom they were only known by their exactions. Failing to arouse a spirit of reaction, within the kingdom, the nobles began to cherish hopes of assistance from abroad. Twice the display of an armed force had precipitated the king into deeper troubles: but if his faithful troops could be supported by friendly powers, and the reactionary party encouraged by foreign sympathies, the good cause might yet prevail. With these hopes great numbers of the nobles began to emigrate. Many, indeed, had already fled to save their lives: their homes had been laid waste:

CHAP. XIII.

their families outraged.[1] Surrounded by dangers, they were powerless to save the king. If they submitted without resistance to the revolution, they appeared to acquiesce in it: if they attempted to resist it, they were denounced as rebels to the king, in whose name it was conducted. They were glad to quit a country in which their lives and property were in danger, and where they had lost their dignity and influence. They had been trained to arms, and hoped to return at the head of triumphant armies. They were invited to serve the royal cause, by the king's nearest relatives, and foremost adherents, and were swayed by the example of the flower of the French nobility. And if they were accused of appearing in arms against their country, they replied that they were supporting the king against his rebellious subjects.[2] Nor were there wanting examples in the history of France in which foreign aid had been invoked by political parties.[3] But, whatever their motives, they left the king surrounded by his dangerous enemies, and exposed to the charge of waging war against his country. The violence of parties threatened civil war at home, while the emigrants were planning invasion from abroad.

[1] Madame de Staël, in her *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, says:—'jusqu'en 1791, l'émigration ne fut provoquée par aucune sorte de dangers, et qu'elle dût être considérée comme une œuvre de parti; tandis qu'en 1792, l'émigration fut réellement forcée.' But their dangers had commenced in July 1790. See *supra*, p. 141.

[2] The best defence of the emigrants is to be found in Nettement, *Vie de Madame de la Rochejaquelein*, 71 *et seq.* He says that even Napoleon acknowledged that the emigrants 'merely obeyed the summons of their princes, whom they regarded as their captains-general.'—Ibid. 73.

[3] 'Pendant la Ligue, les catholiques avaient pu s'appuyer sur les Espagnols; les Protestants sur les Allemands et les Anglais; pendant la Fronde, Condé avait donné la main aux Espagnols, et Mazarin avait pu revenir avec une armée d'Allemands, sans exciter l'indignation que de pareilles alliances exciteraient aujourd'hui.'—Ibid. 74.

CHAP. XIII.

Situation of Europe.

The political condition of Europe, indeed, favoured the hopes of the emigrants. Kings had been appalled by the revolutionary movements of a neighbouring country. Their ambition and rivalries were for a time forgotten, and the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the Kings of Prussia and Sweden, were regarding France as the common enemy of Europe.[1] In England, not only the king, but the great majority of the governing and educated classes, responding to the impassioned appeals of Edward Burke, dreaded the revolution as a pressing danger. To minds so prepared, the appeals of the emigrants were not made in vain. A formidable confederacy of European States[2] was concerted against France; and crowds of distinguished emigrants assembled under the banners of the Prince de Condé and the Count d'Artois.

Restraints upon the king.

Meanwhile, the king was ill at ease in Paris. He was little more than a State prisoner: he was not even allowed to drive to his palace at St. Cloud: his queen was exposed to insults and obloquy: he was surrounded by a riotous populace; and, since the decrees of the Assembly against the Church, he had become entirely estranged from the revolution. His friends had long urged his flight; and on one occasion had even attempted to carry him off from the Tuileries.[3] The efforts of his troops, and of his partisans and allies, could avail him little while he continued in the hands of his enemies; and at length he fled. It was a bold scheme. Had he eluded the vigilance of his pursuers,

[1] In May 1791 a convention was secretly signed between the king and the German emperor, providing for the invasion of France with 100,000 men in the following July.

[2] Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, and Switzerland.—Mignet, *Hist.* i. 190 *et seq.* Mignet, *Hist.* i. 182.

CHAP. XIII.

Flight of the king from Paris. June 20 and 21, 1791.

and placed himself at the head of the armies of France —supported by his allies—he might yet have overcome the revolution, and recovered his power. But his flight was clumsily carried out. In a light *calèche* he might perhaps have escaped : but he chose a lumbering berlin, drawn by eight horses,—at once slow and inviting suspicion. His untoward arrest at Varennes proved fatal to himself and to the monarchy. He was suspended from his functions by the Assembly: a guard was mounted over him ; and the republican party now openly avowed its aims.

Relations of the king to the revolution.

The relations of the king to the revolution, and to his own people, were hopelessly changed. He had fled to join the enemies of his country, to crush the revolution, and to restore the old *régime*. The revolutionary party were no longer under any restraint, in exasperating popular prejudices against the king. Even calm and moderate citizens, who had not aided the revolution, were shocked that the king should seek the aid of foreigners against his own country : they dreaded the renewal of feudalism, and the triumph of the haughty nobles. The revolution was still popular with the masses of the people ; and all who had profited by it, viewed with dismay an attempt to wrest from them their recent gains, by force of arms. Were they to pay tithes again? Were feudal rents and services again to be wrung from them? Were the Church lands, which they had bought cheap, to be restored? In truth, the king's ill-omened flight united all classes, except the nobles and the clergy, against himself, and in support of the revolution.

The king had been thus laid low, and the revolutionists elated, when the Emperor of Austria and the

CHAP. XIII.

King of Prussia issued the memorable declaration of Pilnitz, in which they demanded that the king should be restored to power and freedom, and the Assembly dissolved, under pain of an immediate invasion.[1] Need it be said, that so haughty a dictation to a great people aroused indignation and a determined spirit of resistance, instead of submission? The king's cause was gravely compromised by the indiscretion of his friends.

Declaration of Pilnitz. July 27, 1791.

Another step in the progress of the revolution was about to be made. The Constituent Assembly, in a false spirit of self-denial, had decreed that no member of the Assembly should be capable of re-election, or of accepting, for four years, any office from the king.[2] Nothing could have been more fatal to the stability of the laws and policy of France. The Assembly had consummated a great revolution: but it comprised many statesmen and patriots; and the majority were disposed to moderate councils. It had represented the sentiments of the middle classes rather than of the multitude: it had aimed at the redress of grievances and constitutional reforms, and not at revolution; and it had striven to maintain order, and moderate the violence of extreme parties. But now an assembly of new men, without experience, or the responsibilities of a tried public life, was to be summoned, under an extended franchise. No State can break safely with the past; and such was the condition of France in the very throes of a revolution. Not less injurious was the ex-

Elections for the new assembly.

[1] Mignet, *Hist.* i. 204.

[2] Mirabeau had insisted, in the Assembly, that deputies should be able to hold offices in the government, in order to bring ministers into harmony with the legislature; but the Assembly, wishing to weaken the government, and jealous of Mirabeau, who was suspected of aspiring to power, determined otherwise.—Von Sybel, *Hist.* i. 137, 149.

CHAP. XIII.

clusion of ministers of the Crown from seats in the National Assembly. No single measure could have contributed so much to bring the executive government into harmony with the legislature, as the choice of the foremost men of the majority as ministers, and the ascendency of their influence and eloquence in the assembly.[1] At the same time, Lafayette resigned the command of the National Guard; and Bailly, the mayoralty of Paris. Both had lately striven to maintain order in the capital; and their retirement increased the perils of the king. The future was dark: but every circumstance seemed to be conspiring against him.

National Legislative Assembly.

The new 'National Legislative Assembly' met on October 1, 1791. Its constitution was naturally more democratic than that of the late Assembly. The nobility and the clergy, relying upon help from abroad, had not cared to use their influence in the elections; and accordingly there was no party in favour of the old *régime*. The most conservative party was that of the Feuillants, who were prepared to maintain the constitution lately decreed. The Girondists, so called from their eminent leaders Vergniaud, Guadet, and others who represented the Gironde, were more advanced: but, in the main, were averse to extreme measures.[2] There was a third party, far more democratic, sometimes acting with the Girondists in the Assembly, but closely allied with Robespierre and the Jacobins, Danton and the Cordeliers, and the Parisian demagogues. The two latter parties, both favouring democracy, together formed a large majority in the Assembly. These

[1] See some excellent remarks upon this question in the *Quarterly Review*, July 1872, p. 48.

[2] Von Sybel represents them as far more democratic than they would appear, from other authorities, to have been.—*Hist.* i. 314 *et seq.*

parties were distinguished as the right, the centre, and the left; the extreme section of the latter being afterwards known as the Mountain.[1]

Its relations with the king.

The early relations of the Assembly with the king were unfriendly. His Majesty received its formal communications coldly and haughtily; and the Assembly retorted by voting that, on coming to the Chamber, the king should have a chair, like that of the President, instead of the royal throne, and should not be addressed as 'sire' or 'his majesty.' This insulting vote, however—agreed to in a sudden fit of ill-humour—was revoked the next day, and the king was received with the accustomed ceremonies. He was greeted with cordial acclamations, and his conciliatory speech was well calculated to bring the throne and the Assembly into friendly accord. This result was desired by the king himself, by his ministers, and by the Feuillants, or constitutional party in the Assembly, to which they belonged. But it was rendered hopeless by the court, the emigrants, the armed coalition, and the clergy on one side, and the more advanced parties on the other.

Position of the king.

What was the position of the king himself? He had sworn to observe the new constitution, to which he had assented: but his family, and most zealous personal friends had protested against it, as a surrender of the rights of his crown. His nearest relatives, and the first nobles of the land, were in arms against their country, in order to recover his prerogatives; and crowds of emigrants were on their way, to serve under their standards. Upwards of fifteen thousand had assembled, at Coblentz: officers from the king's army had joined them: arms were being forged for them at

[1] Out of 745 members no less than 400 were lawyers.

CHAP. XIII

Liége: horses were bought to mount their cavalry in the German fairs: an army of Frenchmen was threatening the frontiers of France, and its leaders were loud in their cries of vengeance. His cause was espoused by an armed coalition of powerful allies, who were preparing to invade his realm. By his flight, he had shown his repugnance to the revolution, if not his sympathy with the enemies of his country.

Conflict with the Assembly.

Such being his relations with the party of reaction, he was soon brought into conflict with the Assembly. That body, in preparing for the defence of the State, could not overlook the emigrants, or the disaffected nonjuring priests, who were fomenting disorders in the provinces. Three decrees were accordingly passed: the first required the king's eldest brother, Monsieur, to return to France on pain of forfeiting the regency: the second was directed against the emigrants assembled on the frontier; and the third against the nonjuring priests. To the first of these decrees the king assented: to the second and third he signified his veto. But, at the instance of the Assembly, he called upon the German princes to repress the hostile assemblage of French emigrants in their States, or otherwise threatened them with war. He further gratified the Assembly by choosing a new ministry from the Girondist party, which, by the remarkable eloquence of its leaders, and by its holding more advanced opinions than the constitutionalists, for the time, commanded a majority.[1] Upon the advice of his new ministers, he proposed to the Assembly to declare war against Austria. The king was thus drawn into a war against his own friends: but it availed him nothing with his people. It was destined

War with Austria.

[1] The court sneered at it as the *sans-culotte* ministry.

CHAP. XIII.

to complete the triumph of the revolution, and to precipitate his fall. War had been originally provoked by the king's friends, in order to repress the revolution :[1] but its mission was to propagate democracy throughout Europe.

Disasters of the war.

The commencement of the war was disastrous to the French arms; and the Jacobins saw in successive defeats the treachery of reactionists, and complicity with the invaders. The Assembly voted its sittings permanent, disbanded the king's guard, decreed the formation of an army of 20,000 men in Paris, and armed the people with pikes. And, to discourage internal troubles, it decreed the banishment of the non-juring priests. The king dismissed his ministers, and refused his assent to the decrees relating to the army of Paris, and the priests. Again he resorted to the constitutional party, which was weaker than ever. Its restoration to power revived the hopes of the reactionists: while it threw the Girondists more into the hands of the Jacobins. Their intentions were not yet hostile to the monarchy: but, in order to recover power, they allied themselves with the people, and adopted the tactics of the Mountain.

Riotous mob of petitioners. June 20, 1792.

The population had been incited to petition in favour of the late decrees; and on June 20, a tumultuous assemblage of petitioners marched to the Hall of the Assembly. A deputation was admitted, and after a violent speech from its spokesman, the whole mob of petitioners,

[1] Most historians concur in this view: but Von Sybel says, 'The war was begun by the Gironde to do away with the monarchical constitution of 1789;' and he treats the combination of the king, the émigrés, and the foreign powers as a mere pretext to secure the support of the people.—*Hist. of Fr. Rev.* i. 381. He further says, 'the whole future policy of the Gironde was comprehended in this debate (Dec. 17, 1791). War in all directions, without regard to the law of nations; and by means of war, the revolutionary rule over France, and the extension of the revolution through the neighbouring States.'—Ibid. 394.

CHAP. XIII.

numbering 30,000,—men, women, and children,—some carrying revolutionary flags and emblems, others armed with pikes, and shouting popular watchwords, were allowed to file through the hall. Such a degradation of the Assembly showed, but too clearly, that legitimate authority was to be overborne by the violence of the populace. The mob, thus encouraged, marched on to the king's palace, forced their way into the royal apartments, and passed noisily before his majesty, demanding his sanction to the decrees of the Assembly. With calmness and dignity, he declined to pledge himself to grant the prayer of the petition: but he appeased their clamours by putting on a red cap of liberty, which was handed to him on the top of a pike.[1]

Partial reaction.

Such outrages as these caused an apparent reaction in favour of the king, which Lafayette and the constitutional party endeavoured to turn to account: but they received no encouragement from the court, which now cherished more hope from its allies abroad, than from any party at home. Meanwhile the Girondists were daily becoming more hostile to the court: the relations of the king with the enemies of his country were openly denounced; and his deposition was not obscurely threatened. The Assembly declared the country in danger, and called the people to arms. The revolution was now identified with the defence of the country. The king was declared to be in league with the enemies of France; and both must be resisted by an uprising of the people.

The country declared in danger.

The Duke of Brunswick's manifesto. July 25, 1792.

At this perilous conjuncture, the Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the confederate army, issued an

[1] Of June 20 Edgar Quinet says:—'La journée du 20 Juin avait laissé en lui (le roi) une élévation morale, qu'il garda jusqu'à la fin, et qui le livra, les mains liées, à la Révolution. L'homme grandit, le chrétien se montra, et le prince fut perdu.'—*La Révolution*, i. 286.

LIBRARY OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAP. XIII.

extravagant manifesto,—more injurious to the monarchy than any of the machinations of its enemies. In the name of the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia, he declared that the allies were marching to put down anarchy in France, and to restore the king to his rights and liberty. He threatened vengeance upon any towns which should dare to defend themselves, and especially upon Paris, which would be given up to destruction. All the members of the Assembly, and other functionaries, were to be judged by military law. To complete the insults of this missive, the people of Paris were promised that, if they obeyed these haughty mandates, the great potentates would intercede with the king for the pardon of their offences!

July 25, 1792.

Insurrection in Paris. August 10, 1792.

This ill-judged manifesto, identifying the king throughout with the invasion, and chiding and scolding a great people like children, was the deathblow of the monarchy. The Girondists were now prepared to depose the king, by a vote of the Assembly: but the Jacobins were bent upon more violent measures, and organised an insurrection in the capital. The faubourgs were armed: the national guard was deprived of ammunition: impassioned fédérés from Marseilles, and other cities, inflamed the popular excitement; while the assemblies of the sections of Paris, sitting *en permanence*, voted the deposition of the king, and sent commissioners to the Hôtel de Ville, to supersede the municipality, as a new commune.

On August 10, the insurgents marched against the Tuileries; and the troops and national guards showed themselves unwilling to defend the palace. In this imminent danger, the king, accompanied by the queen, sought protection in the hall of the Assembly, saying

CHAP. XIII.

that he came to prevent a great crime. After the king had left the palace, it was assailed by the insurgents, his Swiss guards were massacred, and the royal apartments overrun by a howling mob. The assailants led to this decisive outrage were but a few thousands: but when the deed was done, they were joined by the populace of Paris. A knot of conspirators, with their resolute band of ruffians, were able to overthrow the monarchy of France.[1] The revolution, which had commenced in the discontents of the country, was consummated by the violence of a mob, from the streets of Paris. The Assembly was immediately besieged by importunate deputations, insisting upon the deposition of the king. These demands were acceded to by the suspension of the king, the restoration of the Girondists to power, and the convocation of a national convention.

The king sent to the Temple.

The unhappy king, to whom every stage of the revolution brought yet darker troubles, was sent to the Temple as a prisoner. The 20th of June had overthrown the authority of the Assembly: the 10th August completed its ruin. The king was cast down, and the authority of the Assembly was rapidly passing into the hands of the commune of Paris. This revolutionary body usurped power in the name of the people, and, with the aid of the sections and the mob, dictated its will to the Assembly. Its leaders, the Jacobins, were now masters of France. The commune had insisted

The commune of Paris.

[1] 'Au moment du combat, il n'y avait guère parmi les assaillants que trois mille hommes; après le succès, ce fut un peuple immense. Des poignées d'hommes décidaient de tout. Plus tard, quand cette tête fut détruite, il resta, comme par le passé, une nation étonnée de ce qu'elle avait fait, prête à renier ses guides.'

'L'âme vivante de la révolution était dans un petit nombre: voilà pourquoi la nation s'en est si vite lassée. Elle suivait les audaces de quelques-uns, passive encore jusque dans ses plus fières révoltes.'—Edgar Quinet, *La Révolution*, i. 302.

upon the imprisonment of the king in the Temple; and now it decreed the removal of the statues of kings and the destruction of every emblem of the monarchy; and it forced the Assembly to appoint an extraordinary criminal tribunal. Suspected persons were arrested and put upon their trial by the sectional assemblies. The revolutionary army of Paris was increased to 100,000 men: the democracy of the capital was armed, and disciplined to do the bidding of its leaders. The *bourgeoisie* of the national guard was generally disarmed. The property of the emigrants was confiscated. All ground rents were abolished as feudal dues. The church plate was seized and melted, for the use of the commune. Danton was the leading spirit of the commune, and with him were associated Marat, Tallien, and others who became memorable in the blood-stained history of the revolution. These desperate leaders knew that the revolutionary party formed a minority of the French people, and were resolved to overcome the majority by terror.[1]

Massacres of Sept. 1792.

At length the Prussians had crossed the frontier, and were advancing towards Paris. While schemes of defence were being discussed, it was the terrible Danton who first proposed to subdue the royalists by terror, and to enlist the wild and maddened spirit of the revolution in defence of France. The commune carried out his scheme of intimidation, by domiciliary visits, by constant arrests, and, lastly, by the wholesale massacre

[1] At this very time, when the revolution appeared victorious, Danton said, 'Le 10 août a divisé la France en deux partis, dont l'un est attaché à la royauté, et l'autre veut la république. Celui-ci, dont vous ne pouvez vous dissimuler l'extrême minorité dans l'Etat, est le seul sur lequel vous puissiez compter pour combattre.'—Mignet, i. 301: thus admitting that the republicans were in a minority.

CHAP. XIII.

of the royalists confined in the various prisons. It was the commencement of that reign of terror to which so many Frenchmen fell victims, and which ultimately avenged them by the punishment of its authors. Terror was not confined to Paris: but commissioners were despatched into the provinces, with instructions 'to let the blood of all traitors be the first sacrifice offered up to liberty, so that when we march against our enemies, we may leave none behind to molest us.'[1] These atrocious massacres were executed by a mere handful of wretches, who did the bidding of Danton and Marat; and Paris, surprised and stupefied with terror, remained a passive witness of murders which public indignation ought to have arrested.[2] The commune of Paris publicly avowed these monstrous crimes, saying that ferocious conspirators, detained in the prisons, had been put to death by the people, and inviting the whole nation to imitate their example. To resist the invasion the tocsin was sounded, cannon were fired, and masses of armed men were reviewed on the Champ de Mars, and despatched to the frontier. The revolution was supreme, and the invasion was repelled.[3] No one will now be persuaded that this cruel and wicked system of terror was necessary for the defence of France from her foreign enemies: the national enthusiasm might have been aroused by worthier means: but its terrible efficacy cannot be questioned. Internal resistance to the prosecution of the war was crushed: the royalists were overawed; and a wild and passionate enthusiasm was excited in the revolutionary party.

Military spirit of the nation.

[1] Circular of Danton: Blondier-Langlois, i. 262.

[2] These horrors are fully described in Thiers, *Hist. de la Rév. Fr.* ii. ch. 6.

[3] It was about this time that Danton said, 'Il nous faut de l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace.'—*Moniteur, Hist. Parl.* xvi. 347; Thiers, *Hist.* ii. 316.

The irresistible powers of the democracy were yet to be developed: but this first essay revealed its capabilities.

Abolition of the monarchy. Sept. 20, 1792.

The revolution was now to advance with giant strides. Violence and terror had been used throughout France to secure the return of revolutionary candidates to the National Convention. The Parisian deputies were all ultra-democratic: but in the provinces, candidates of the moderate parties, notwithstanding every discouragement, very generally prevailed. The great majority of the convention, however, were republicans. That the extreme party were in a minority was confessed. 'All France is against us,' cried the younger Robespierre, in the Jacobin Club: 'our only hope is in the citizens of Paris.' And proofs abound that, in every period of the revolution, the party of order, throughout France, and even in Paris itself, was supported by a majority of the people.[1] The first act of the National Convention was to abolish the monarchy and proclaim a republic. Its revolutionary enthusiasm, and contempt for the past, were further displayed by decreeing that henceforth the revolution should date from the first year of the French republic.[2]

The Girondists.

The Girondists, advancing with the revolutionary passion of the times, had now become republicans: but the ideal of this refined and intellectual party was a republic governed by capable statesmen, and resting upon the intelligence and patriotism of the most enlightened classes.[3] They had no sympathy with the

[1] See *supra*, 162, 163; *infra*, 197-203; Mortimer-Ternaux, *Histoire de la Terreur*, 1792-1794; Adolphe Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution Française*; Dauban, *La Démagogie, en* 1793, *à Paris; et Paris* en 1794 *et* 1795.

[2] Up till this time, 1792 was the fourth year of liberty: the year of our Lord having been discontinued in 1789.

[3] 'Ils se proposaient de faire une constitution républicaine, à l'image

CHAP. XIII.

ignorance and passions of the populace, and they revolted from cruelty and bloodshed. But the time had passed for the trial of a philosophical republic. This party had, indeed, a majority in the convention: but there was little earnestness, and neither party organisation nor discipline. They were also too far compromised by their share in the revolution to be able to arrest its progress. Their sympathy with the revolution was colder than that of the Mountain, and consequently less popular: while it went far enough to precipitate the greatest events of this momentous time.

The Mountain

Their dangerous rivals, the Mountain, cared little for the votes of the convention. Their reliance was upon the commune of Paris, upon the Jacobins, and the populace of the faubourgs. The commune ruled the capital, and the capital dominated over France. If the Mountain was in a minority in the chamber, it could rely upon the acclamations of the galleries, upon savage threats to its opponents, and upon the clubs, and armed mobs of Paris. The time had passed when eloquence, or reason, or the votes of the representatives of the people, were to guide the councils of the State. The destinies of France were in the hands of those who swayed the revolutionary *prolétaires*.[1] The leaders of this redoubtable party were the too notorious Danton, Robespierre, and Marat. Of Robespierre it has been

de cette seule classe devant laquelle venaient de s'évanouir la royauté, l'église et l'aristocratie. Sous le nom de république, ils sous-entendaient le règne des lumières, des vertus, de la propriété, des talents, dont leur classe avait désormais le privilége.'—Lamartine, *Hist. des Girondins*, iv. 90.

'Ce parti . . . ne voulait pas la république qui lui échut en 1793; il la rêvait avec tous ses prestiges, avec ses vertus, et ses mœurs sévères.'—Thiers, *Hist.* ii. 12.

[1] 'Les clubs acquièrent à cette époque une plus grande importance. Agitateurs sous la constituante, ils devinrent dominateurs sous la législative.'—Ibid.

well said by a thoughtful historian, that he owed it to his inferior abilities that he appeared among the last of the revolutionary leaders—a great advantage in a revolution;[1] for the earlier leaders are certain to be swept away.

The rival parties.

These two parties were jealous and hostile: their principles and their ambition alike brought them into conflict. The Girondists, utterly condemning the September massacres, denounced the blood-stained democrats who had brought them about. They strove at once to discourage such revolutionary excesses, and to overthrow the rival party which had been guilty of them. They appealed to the better feelings of the country, in the hope of conducting the new republic upon principles of moderation and justice. There was a third and intermediate party in the convention, called the Plain, which sided now with the right and now with the left, according to their convictions, or their fears. Such a party has been common to most popular assemblies; and its action has generally been more mischievous than useful.

Revolutionary propaganda.

Upon one point all parties were agreed. Whatever their domestic policy, they equally favoured the waging of wars against kings, and a crusade in support of republicanism, and the rights of man, in concert with the oppressed nations of Europe. This was the popular cry of the commune and the faubourgs; and no party could hope for toleration unless they joined in it. The Girondists, as authors of the war, were not less zealous than the Mountain, in the revolutionary war-cry. The Jacobins encouraged it, as strengthening the revolution, and uniting different parties in its cause, which were otherwise moderate or reactionary. This

Oct. 19, 1792.

[1] Mignet, *Hist. de la Rév.* i. 323.

CHAP. XIII.

passion for war was further encouraged by the desperate state of the finances. The property of the Church, and of the emigrants, had been sold; and even their bankers were ordered, under pain of death, to take to the exchequer all their effects and papers. Assignats had been recklessly multiplied: but still the exchequer was empty. It was now time to levy contributions upon other countries; and the armies of victorious France were to be supported by the enfranchised peoples of Belgium, Holland, and Germany.

Nov. 19, 1792.

In November the convention declared that France offered her help to all nations who were struggling for freedom; and that her generals should be ready to support them. This decree was ordered to be translated into all languages, and distributed among the peoples.[1] In reply to deputations from Nice and Savoy, Grégoire, the president of the convention, said: 'All governments are our enemies: all peoples are our allies: we shall fall, or all nations will be free.'

Dec. 15, 1792.

But in what sense this promising alliance was to be carried out was soon disclosed by another decree of the convention. It was decreed that the conditions of French military aid should be the abolition of taxes, tithes, feudal rights, titles, and all other privileges: the confiscation of the property of the State, of corporations, and of royalists: the administration of the government by French commissioners; and the maintenance of the French armies, at the cost of the rescued people.[2]

The Mountain project the trial of the king.

But the Mountain were preparing a stroke, which should give a decisive impulse to the revolution, and frustrate the policy of their rivals. In the revolutionary clubs and coteries, the fate of the unhappy king had

[1] *Moniteur* (1792), 1379. [2] Ibid. (1792), 1496.

CHAP. XIII.

been discussed with ominous severity: petitions were presented to the convention calling for vengeance upon *Louis Capet*; and the Jacobins were stirring up the people to cry aloud for his blood.

Discovery of papers at the Tuileries.

The popular anger against him was further inflamed by the discovery of papers at the Tuileries, which betrayed his secret relations with the emigrants, the priests, and the coalition. He was accused, in a report to the convention, of having plotted to betray the State, and overthrow the Revolution. Evidence was also discovered of his previous intrigues with Mirabeau, and other popular leaders.[1]

Discussions upon the trial of the king.

The momentous question was now proposed to the convention—What should be done with the illustrious prisoner at the Temple? Such was the state of public feeling, and such the constitution of the convention, that none were found bold enough to defend the king, and justify his conduct. A committee reported that the king ought to be tried by the convention. The

Views of the Girondists,

Girondists, however, endeavoured to save him from a trial, upon technical grounds;[2] and proposed to consider whether he should be continued in captivity, or banished the realm.

and of the Mountain.

The Mountain, represented by St. Just and Robespierre, contended, with characteristic violence, that Louis was not an accused person, nor the convention his judges, but that he stood already adjudged and condemned; and that nothing remained for the con-

[1] Thiers, *Hist.* ii. 197. Von Sybel casts doubts upon this part of the case; and gives it a secondary importance (ii. 265). Danton had aroused suspicions as to the good faith of these discoveries by going alone to open the iron armoury, in which the papers were concealed.

[2] The conduct of the Girondists, throughout these proceedings, is fully described by Lamartine, *Hist. des Girondins*, liv. xxxvii.

CHAP. XIII.

vention but to decree his death, as a traitor to France, and a criminal to humanity. So monstrous a proposal was naturally repugnant to the great majority of the convention: but it gratified the revolutionists of Paris, and increased the embarrassment of those who were attempting to save the king. Ultimately, the majority chose the middle course, and following the opinion of its own committee, resolved that the king should be brought to trial before the convention itself.

Dignified conduct of the king.

Never did the king acquit himself with greater dignity and courage than when his deepest troubles were gathering round about him. Summoned to the bar of the convention, he answered the questions put to him calmly, and with singular readiness and judgment. He asked for counsel, and his demand was granted. To Malesherbes, who had offered to undertake this perilous office, Louis said nobly, in prison, 'I am certain they will take my life: but, no matter, let us apply ourselves to my cause, as if I ought to gain it; and, indeed, I shall gain it, since my memory will be without a stain.'

His defence.

His defence was delivered by Desèze,[1] a distinguished young advocate; and nothing was wanting to persuade a just tribunal,—not under the influence of fear, and revolutionary zeal,—that his reign had been one of beneficence to his people, and that none of his acts could be adjudged as crimes against the State.

Adjudged guilty.

The Girondists could still have saved him: but they were irresolute, temporising, and alarmed.[2] The Moun-

[1] Malesherbes was too old and nervous to speak before the Convention. Target declined the arduous task, on account of ill health: but published a pamphlet in support of the king; and so the defence fell to Desèze.

[2] When Vergniaud pronounced '*La mort,*' Danton whispered to Brissot, 'Vantez donc vos orateurs. Des paroles sublimes, des actes lâches.'—Lamartine, *Hist. des Girondins*, v. 69.

tain were, as usual, loud and threatening: the galleries were crowded with armed Jacobins; and the multitude, thronging the courts and corridors of the convention, clamoured for vengeance. After many days,[1] the Convention unanimously pronounced him guilty: but some, in the hope of saving him, proposed that his punishment should be referred to the primary electoral assemblies: some desired his imprisonment or banishment: others, chiefly Girondists, were for passing sentence of death, with a reprieve. When the votes were taken, sentence of death was declared by a majority of twenty-six. Many had voted in the hope of securing a reprieve: but this was rejected; and the dread sentence was at once pronounced.

Clamour and intimidation.

The judgment was not that of a court of justice, nor the grave vote of a popular assembly: but it was secured by clamour and intimidation, inside and outside the chamber,[2] lasting for many days, and organised by the Jacobins. The Mountain exulted, but the great body of the people mourned. In vain, however, were all sympathies with the fallen monarch. The blow had been dealt so suddenly, that loyal subjects and peaceful citizens were stunned by its shock.[3]

The unhappy Louis was doomed to die, not for

[1] The proceedings upon this trial commenced on Dec. 26, and were not brought to a close until January 19.

[2] 'Les tribunes accueillaient par des murmures tout vote qui n'était point pour la mort; souvent elles adressaient à l'assemblée elle-même des gestes menaçants. Les députés y répondaient de l'intérieur de la salle, et il en résultait un échange tumultueux de menaces, et de paroles injurieuses.'—Thiers, *Hist.* iii. 252.

[3] 'Dans Paris régnait une stupeur profonde; l'audace du nouveau gouvernement avait produit l'effet ordinaire de la force sur les masses; elle avait paralysé, réduit à silence le plus grand nombre, et excité seulement l'indignation de quelques âmes plus fortes.'—Ibid. iii. 260.

CHAP. XIII.

Aims of the Jacobins.

crimes which he had committed, but to advance the fierce designs of the Jacobins. They had resolved to crush their enemies by terror; and the royalists were stricken by the same blow as the king. They sought to triumph over the Girondists and moderate republicans, by appealing to the wildest passions of the revolution; and by this audacious deed, they hurled defiance at the sovereigns who had espoused the cause of the fallen king, and committed the French nation irrevocably to the war. It was by terror that they designed to overawe hostile majorities, to gratify the democracy of Paris, and to lay France at their feet.

Weakness of the Girondists.

The weakness of the Girondists had cost the king his life; and in quailing before the lawless spirit of the revolution, they were preparing for themselves the same inevitable doom.

Execution of the king. Jan. 21, 1793.

Louis met his cruel fate with calmness and dignity, and with a clear conscience. To Malesherbes he said, 'I swear to you, in all the truth of my heart, as a man who is about to appear before his God,—I have constantly desired the happiness of my people, and never have I formed a wish which was opposed to it.'

His character.

Among the long roll of kings, of modern Europe, few have been distinguished by more virtues, or stained by less vices. The revolution was caused by no faults of his; and if moderation and self-denial could have averted it, they were found in his gentle rule. In such evil times, more force of character, and a greater mastery over his friends and councillors, would have served him better than all his virtues: but the revolution was an irresistible force, which probably no firmness or sagacity could have checked, or diverted from its fearful course.

CHAPTER XIV.

FRANCE (*continued*).

TRIUMPH OF THE MOUNTAIN — MEASURES OF DEFENCE AGAINST THE COALITION—OVERTHROW OF THE GIRONDISTS—THE CONVENTION AND THE PEOPLE—REVOLUTIONARY VIGOUR—THE REIGN OF TERROR—FALL OF ROBESPIERRE—REACTION—THE DIRECTORY—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND THE ARMY—FIRST CONSUL AND EMPEROR—HIS FALL—RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Triumph of the Mountain.

THE execution of the king was a national crime, and, in the interests of France, a political error: but it was a crowning triumph to the revolutionists. Their dread policy had prevailed, and the ascendency of the Mountain was assured. France was irrevocably committed to the revolution, and to the impassioned rule of its leaders. These desperate men, having shocked all but their own headstrong followers, and defied Europe, were driven to rely more than ever upon violent courses, and upon the passions of the multitude. In the words of Marat, 'They had broken down the bridges behind them.' And their hands were strengthened by the dangers which threatened their country. The coalition, which had received a fresh impulse from the defiant attitude of France, enabled them to appeal to the frenzy and fanaticism of the populace. Their country must be defended against the invaders: the aristocrats who

The coalition against France.

CHAP. XIV.

conspired with them, must be put down: the entire nation must rise in the names of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity': the law must bow before the will of the people.

Measures of defence.

France was compassed round about by foreign enemies. England had, at length, joined the coalition:[1] Holland, Spain, the Roman States, and Naples had taken the same side: all Germany was now united against the republic. The convention decreed a new levy of 300,000 men; and, under pretence of maintaining security at home against the enemies of the revolution, the Mountain secured the nomination of a revolutionary tribunal of nine members, with undefined powers,—an evil augury to the future of the revolution.[2] The army was revolutionised by the fusion of the volunteers with the regular army, and by the election of two-thirds of the officers by the soldiers themselves. General Dumouriez, at first victorious in Belgium, suffered signal reverses in Holland. The latter were ascribed, by the Jacobins, to the treachery and incompetence of the Girondists and their generals, who were held up to popular execration. The Jacobins were so

March 10, 1793.

impatient to ruin their rivals that they even conspired

[1] This war was not sought by England. After the king had been cast into prison, she had withdrawn her ambassador from Paris, but with assurances that she had no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of France; and, notwithstanding grave provocations, these assurances were afterwards repeated. The French ambassador, M. de Chauvelin, was not ordered to quit London until after the execution of the king and the marching of a French army upon Holland: when, on Feb. 1, 1793, war was declared by France herself, not by England. Such was the attitude of France towards other States, that war could not have been long averted: but the blame of this rupture cannot justly be laid upon England. See Von Sybel, *Hist.* ii. 246 *et seq.*; Thiers, *Hist.* iii. 283.

[2] Ministers, generals, and members of the convention were exempted from its jurisdiction, unless impeached by that body itself.

CHAP. XIV.

to take their lives in the convention: but their infamous conspiracy was frustrated.[1] Untaught by recent experience, the Girondists still hoped to maintain their ground by noble sentiments and fine speeches: while the Mountain rested upon the commune, the clubs, the sections of Paris, the tocsin, and an armed populace. It was an unequal strife between words and force:[2] but throughout their perilous struggle, the Girondists maintained a lofty courage, and defied their truculent foes, in the heroic strains of Roman patriots.

The Girondists.

Every danger to the State afforded a new power to the revolution. The insurrection of La Vendée was followed by severe measures against the priests and emigrants, who were placed out of the pale of the law. The alarming defection of Dumouriez led to the appointment of the Committee of Public Safety.

Committee of Public Safety.

The battle of parties was rapidly approaching a crisis. The Jacobins accused the Girondists of being in league with the traitor Dumouriez. The convention, besieged and threatened by the mob, resolved to put down the commune, by whom these disorders had been encouraged. A committee of twelve was appointed to inquire into the authors of these conspiracies; and Hébert, an active member of the commune, was arrested. This vigour on the part of the convention, was resisted by insurrection. The commune, at-

The strife of parties.

The convention invaded by the mob.

[1] In his eloquent denunciation of this conspiracy Vergniaud finely said, with the spirit of a prophet, 'Citoyens, il est à craindre que la révolution, comme Saturne, ne dévore successivement tous ses enfans, et n'engendre enfin le despotisme avec les calamités qui l'accompagnent.' —Buzot, *Mém.* 107; Mignet, *Hist.* i. 375.

[2] Danton said of them, 'Ce sont de beaux diseurs, et gens de procédés. Mais ils n'ont jamais porté que la plume, et le bâton d'huissier.'— *Mém. de Baudot*, quoted by Edgar Quinet, i. 363.

CHAP. XIV.

tended by deputations from different sections of Paris, and by a revolutionary mob, invested the convention. Insisting upon the dissolution of the committee of twelve, and the release of Hébert, they took possession of the benches, and voted with the Mountain, in favour of their own importunate demands. The next day these irregular and scandalous votes were rescinded: but the Jacobins, resolved to triumph over the convention, organised the mob of Paris, put arms into their hands, and paid them forty sous a day. The tocsin was sounded, the ragged rout was marshalled in the faubourgs, and marched upon the convention. A hundred thousand men were under arms, that day, in Paris. There were horse, foot, and artillery,—a revolutionary army. Again the suppression of the committee of twelve was demanded tumultuously, at the bar, and was conceded to clamour and intimidation. But this was not enough for the Jacobins: they had resolved to put down the Girondists, and the agitation of Paris was continued. The dreadful tocsin was sounded once more, and deputations, petitioners, and the armed mob invaded the convention, and demanded the arrest of the members who were conspiring against their country. Marat, who had contrived this outrage, himself designated the conspirators; and the foremost members of the Girondist party were placed under arrest. Henceforth the convention was at the feet of Marat, Robespierre, and the Jacobins. Moderation must ever be sacrificed, in revolutionary times; and the Girondists, with all their eloquence and public virtues, had committed errors which precipitated their fall. They had been the only barrier against the worst ex-

May 27, 1793.

Arming of the mob.

May 1.

Arrest of the Girondists.

June 2, 1793.

cesses of the revolution, and they were now swept away.[1]

Contact of the convention with the people.

The wild course of the revolution was made more furious and uncontrollable by the close contact of the convention with the people. There were no less than twenty-four tribunes for spectators. These were crowded by the populace of Paris, of whom one or two thousand gained admission. The upper benches of the convention reached up to the tribunes; and the deputies held free converse with the audience. The passions of the multitude swayed the deliberations of the Assembly. Mobs, not satisfied with the tribunes, sometimes invaded the hall of the convention itself. Deputations were constantly presenting themselves at the bar. Crowds of men and women forced themselves into the middle of the hall, and fraternised with their representatives. Political cries, threats, and compliments were bandied about between the deputies and the mob. Deliberation was impossible in the midst of tumults.[2] The debates were conducted with frenzied anger: insults, threats, and denunciations were exchanged: violent gesticulations added force to words: daggers and pistols, grasped with fury, showed the violence and lawlessness of the men who held the destinies of France in their hands.

Its debates.

[1] 'Ce parti tomba de faiblesse et d'indécision, comme le roi qu'il avait renversé.'—Lamartine, *Hist. des Girondins*, vi. 151.

'La pensée, l'unité, la politique, la résolution, tout leur manquait. Ils avaient fait la république sans la vouloir: ils la gouvernaient sans la comprendre.'—Ibid. 152.

[2] 'The experience of France has shown other dangers, arising from the number of spectators, equalling or exceeding that of the Assembly.' . . . 'There are some men, who, surrounded with the popularity of the moment, would be more engaged with the audience than with the Assembly; and the discussion would take a turn more favourable to the excitements of oratory, than to logical proofs.'—Bentham, 'Political Tactics;' Bowring's Ed., *Works*, ii. 326.

CHAP. XIV.

It was a wild scene of revolution and anarchy, such as the world had not witnessed since the latter days of the Roman republic. The resolutions of the convention were passionate and impulsive. The hall, ill-lighted by day as well as by night, was a fit abode for gloomy thoughts, imaginations, and passions.

Its useful measures.

Yet this convention, urged on by the force of the revolution, achieved some great reforms. It abolished slavery, and condemned the slave trade: it founded a system of national education: it made provision for the sick and aged: it promulgated a civil code, which was to be the foundation of the Code Napoléon:[1] it inaugurated the decimal system: it established uniformity of weights and measures; and it created the Institute of France.

Insurrections in the provinces.

But the revolutionists were not allowed to enjoy their triumph without a further struggle. The Girondists and the royalists raised formidable insurrections in the provinces; and La Vendée was more threatening than ever. Lyons, Marseilles and Bordeaux were in arms; and no less than sixty departments supported the insurrection. The country was shocked at the violence and usurpation of the revolutionists of the capital; and resented the outrages committed against its representatives. The fanatical vengeance wreaked upon Marat, by the heroic Charlotte Corday, was but an example of the indignation which burned against the blood-stained leaders of the Mountain.[2]

The invasion of France.

While insurrection and civil war were raging in

[1] This code was the work of Cambacères, Thibaudau, and other jurists of the convention, who reproduced their own work in 1803, and allowed Napoleon the credit of it.

[2] Of Marat, Lamartine says:—'L'Evangile était toujours ouvert sur sa table. La révolution, disait-il à ceux qui s'en étonnaient, est tout entière dans l'Evangile.'—*Hist. des Girondins*, v. 313.

France, the country was surrounded by enemies; and the treachery of Dumouriez, and the disorganisation of his army, had opened the northern frontiers to the invaders.

New constitution.

To repel such dangers demanded extraordinary vigour on the part of the Mountain. Nor was it wanting either in the men, or in the democracy, which they governed. A new constitution was framed, founded upon the sovereignty of the people, with universal suffrage, and an assembly annually chosen. This constitution did homage to the revolution: but it formed no government for such a crisis: nor did it secure the absolute rule of its authors. This was not a time for trifling with political theories and sentiments: but for giving force and concentration to the national will. The constitution was therefore suspended: the committee of public safety was reconstituted; and a levy of all citizens, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, was decreed by the convention. France was transformed into a huge camp, and military arsenal: fourteen armies were raised: twelve hundred thousand men were under arms: they were supported by forced requisitions: a warlike frenzy possessed the entire people. 'The young men shall go to the battle,' said Barrère: 'it is their task to conquer: the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, and provide subsistence: the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals: the children shall scrape old linen into surgeons' lint: the old men shall have themselves carried into the public places, and there, by their words, arouse the courage of the young, preach hatred to kings, and security to the republic.'[1]

France in arms

[1] *Moniteur*: *Débats*, August 23, 1793.

CHAP. XIV.

The public dangers, and revolutionary fanaticism combined to secure enthusiastic support to the prodigious efforts of the executive. The poorer citizens of Paris, subsidised with forty sous a day, flocked to the meetings of their sections, and applauded every revolutionary measure. Nor were the amusements of the people forgotten. Even free theatres were opened,—after the manner of the Athenians. The sovereignty of the people in other lands, and 'war to the castle, peace to the cottage,' were proclaimed, in the convention.[1]

Revolutionary vigour.

But at what a cost were these warlike preparations made! Forced loans: requisitions for military stores and equipments: extravagant fines upon citizens, for pretended offences against the people: confiscation of the property of aristocrats, and emigrants: spoliation of churches: wholesale plunder and robbery:—such were the means by which the armies of the republic were sent forth to the war. These lawless and tyrannical measures, however successful, were ruinous to the country. Not only was the property of citizens forcibly and capriciously taken, for the service of the State: but it was injured, wasted, and stolen. While industrious citizens were ruined, the public treasury was still empty; and regiments were marched to the frontier, half-clothed and ill-provisioned. In France itself, the troops were maintained, as in an enemy's country. Nor could regular taxes be levied upon those who had already been plundered and impoverished.

Notwithstanding these prodigious armaments, the armies of France were ill-disciplined and irregular.

[1] February 1, 1793. Caubon concluded his speech in favour of the revolutionary propaganda abroad with these words—'Guerre aux châteaux: paix aux chaumières.'—Thiers, *Hist.* iii. 285.

The revolutionary sentiments of the time had demoralised the troops. Hatred of aristocrats bred disobedience to officers; and liberty and equality were not congenial to discipline. The elected officers were ignorant and incapable: the soldiers unruly; and as most of the recruits had been driven to the standards by force, the regiments were alarmingly thinned by desertion. But these evils were vigorously checked; and a reorganisation of the army was effected. That it was extravagantly and wastefully managed, there can be little doubt: that it was led without regard to the cost of life and materials is certain: but, with all its shortcomings, it achieved the most signal victories and conquests.

Men of the revolution.

These great wars were conducted by civilians without experience—by men whom the revolution had thrown to the surface. Lawyers, priests, men of letters, newspaper writers, clerks, were the great administrators. The lawyer, Merlin de Thionville, defended fortresses: the Protestant minister, St. André, was made an admiral, and reorganised the fleet: the student, St. Just, fought with the armies of France, and was, at once, a political leader, and an indefatigable administrator. The trained leaders, upon whom a State is accustomed to rely, had emigrated, or were hostile to the republic; and it was necessary to choose other men to take their place. The revolution had suddenly reduced France to the condition of a new country, and her humble citizens were serving her in the cabinet, in the office, or on the battle-field.[1]

[1] The same phenomenon was witnessed seventy years later, in the civil war of America: when lawyers, railway-managers, and tradesmen suddenly appeared as generals, and officers of cavalry and artillery. The emergencies were alike, and produced the same results.

CHAP. XIV.

As the revolution advanced, a lower class was gradually rising to power. The free-thinking nobles and gentlemen had given the first impulse to the Revolution: the lawyers, men of letters, and the middle classes continued it: the fanatics and low adventurers completed it.[1] At no time did a peasant or artisan take the head of the proletariat. There was no Masaniello, or John of Leyden: but lawyers and men of letters, like Marat, St. Just, and Robespierre, and others above the working class, were the leaders of the populace. The only peasant-leader was Cathelineau, the royalist *voiturier* of La Vendée, under whose standard the highest nobles—De Lescure, de la Rochejacquelein, de Charette, and de Bonchamps—were content to serve.[2]

Law against suspected persons.

The policy of the Mountain would have been imperfectly carried out without a scheme of terror, and accordingly the law against suspected persons was decreed. Every one suspected of unfriendliness to the government, was at the mercy of the committee of public safety. The nobles had fled: but France abounded with royalists and moderate republicans of other classes, whom it was necessary to overawe. Many worthy citizens were thrown into prison,—there to be detained until the peace. Not in Paris only, but throughout France, the new law was put in force, with no less caprice than injustice and cruelty.

[1] Collot d'Herbois was a half-starved actor from Lyons. Hébert had been ticket-collector at a theatre before he became editor of the infamous *Père Duchesne*. Billaud-Varennes, son of a poor advocate at La Rochelle, married his father's maid-servant, and became an actor, a pamphleteer, and a teacher. Henriot, who played so important a part in the Commune, had been a domestic servant, a petty officer of customs, and a police spy.—Von Sybel, *Hist.* iii. 69.

[2] Nettement, *Vie de Madame de la Rochejaquelein*, 135, 191, &c.

CHAP. XIV.

Triumph of French arms.

These extraordinary efforts were everywhere crowned with success. Insurrection was trampled out in the provinces: invasion was repelled from the frontiers of France. A regular government, aided by the patriotism of the people, might have achieved these astonishing triumphs: but a revolutionary executive, supported by a furious popular enthusiasm, superior to the usual restraints of law, and subduing hostile parties by terror, wielded powers hitherto unknown in the history of the world: they were used with passionate resolution, and the result was the triumph of France, and of the revolution. No despot was ever more absolute than the republic, nor was the will of rulers ever enforced with more rigorous severity. A national cause and a despotic executive, whether under a king or a republic, are the best instruments of military prowess. Under the monarchy, all executive power had been centred in the Crown: under the republic, it was wielded by revolutionary leaders. The prerogatives of kings had been above the law, and were now usurped by the revolution.[1]

Absolutism of the republic.

Cruelties the Mountain. 1793.

Meanwhile, we recoil with horror from the cruelty and bloodthirstiness, with which the reputed enemies of the revolution were pursued. All men were accounted enemies, who did not heartily join the revolutionary party. The local clubs and committees were formed of needy malcontents who hated the rich. In their eyes, every rich man was an aristocrat, and an enemy of the republic. It was well for him, if they were satisfied with extortion and plunder. Thousands of quiet merchants and traders, who had taken no part in politics, but had naturally held themselves aloof

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 277 *et seq.*

CHAP. XIV.

from the Jacobins and *sans-culottes*, were cast into prison, and dragged to the guillotine. At Strasburg, St. Just boasted to Robespierre that all the aristocrats of the municipality, the courts of justice, and the regiments had been put to death.[1] Everywhere the law was set at naught; and society was shaken to its very foundation.[2]

Severities against insurgents.

Such was the revolutionary rule throughout France, where there had been no rising of royalists or Girondists. Let us now follow it into places where resistance had been offered to the republic. The insurgents of Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and Bordeaux, were punished with pitiless severity.

Lyons.

Lyons had revolted, and the convention decreed the destruction of the city, the confiscation of the property of the rich, for the benefit of the patriots, and the punishment of the insurgents by martial law. Couthon, a commissioner well tried in cruelty, hesitated to carry into execution this monstrous decree, and was superseded by Collot d'Herbois and Fouché. Thousands of workmen were now employed in the work of destruction: whole streets fell under their pickaxes: the prisons were gorged: the guillotine was too slow for revolutionary vengeance, and crowds of prisoners were shot, in murderous *mitraillades*. The victims were cast into the Rhône, or buried on the spot; and when the musket had failed to do its work, the spade was uplifted against the dying, before they were hurled into the pit.[3]

[1] Robespierre, in the Jacobin Club, November 21, 1793, cited by Von Sybel, iii. 232. Another revolutionist thus spoke of these atrocities:—'Sainte Guillotine est dans la plus brillante activité! Quel maître boucher que ce garçon là!"

[2] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, ch. 7.

[3] Carlyle, *Hist.* iii. 185, who cites *Deux Amis*, xii. 251–262.

CHAP. XIV.

At Marseilles, twelve thousand of the richest citizens fled from the vengeance of the revolutionists, and their property was confiscated, and plundered. Marseilles.

When Toulon fell before the strategy of Bonaparte, the savage vengeance and cruelty of the conquerors were indulged without restraint. All the inhabitants were compromised by the insurrection, and Fréron, the commissioner, seemed bent upon their extermination. The dockyard labourers were put to the sword: gangs of prisoners were brought out and executed by *fusillades*: the guillotine also claimed its victims: the *sans-culottes* rioted in confiscation and plunder. Toulon.

At Bordeaux, Tallien threw fifteen thousand citizens into prison. Hundreds fell under the guillotine; and the possessions and property of the rich were offered up to outrage and robbery. Bordeaux.

But all these atrocities were far surpassed in La Vendée. There, the royalists had made the most determined stand against the revolution. Nobles, gentry, and peasants, devoted to the Catholic faith, and to the monarchy, had long maintained an heroic struggle against the overwhelming forces of the republic.[2] When they were, at length, overcome, no quarter was given to the wounded or prisoners: unarmed peasants were shot: old men and women were put to the sword: whole villages were reduced to ashes. The barbarities of warfare were yet surpassed by the vengeance of the conquerors, when the insurrection was, at last, overcome. At Nantes, the monster Carrier outstripped his rivals in cruelty and insatiable thirst for blood. Not contented with wholesale *mitraillades*, he designed that La Vendée. Nantes.

[1] Nettement, *Vie de Mad. de la Rochejacquelein*, 122, 128–133, &c.; L'Abbé Tresvaux, *La persécution révolutionnaire en Bretagne.*

CHAP. XIV.

masterpiece of cruelty, the *noyades*; and thousands of men, women, and children who escaped the muskets of the rabble soldiery, were deliberately drowned in the waters of the Loire. In four months, his victims reached fifteen thousand. At Angers, and other towns in La Vendée, these hideous *noyades* were added to the terrors of the guillotine and the *fusillades*. The bounds of human wickedness were passed; and men had assumed the form of devils.

Execution of Marie Antoinette.

While these horrors were covering the revolution with infamy, the unhappy Marie Antoinette, after revolting cruelties and insults, was sent to the scaffold, as a defiance to Europe.

And of the Girondists.

The Girondist deputies were delivered from their prison to the executioner. The temperate and high-principled Bailly, who had presided over the National Assembly, and, as mayor of Paris, had moderated the violence of the revolution, was sacrificed for the crime of halting behind the rapid strides of the Jacobins. Even Egalité, Duke of Orleans, fell an unpitied victim of the jealousies of the Mountain. The fury which had possessed the Jacobin leaders was not that of democracy, but of an unprincipled faction, bent upon the ruin of its rivals. It was the blood-thirstiness of Marius, Sulla, and the triumvirs, in the anarchical period of the Roman republic. It was the murderous frenzy of St. Bartholomew. The civil feuds of France had ever been infamous for a savagery, which culminated in the reign of terror.[1]

The committee of public safety.

The committee of public safety, now wholly of the Mountain party, exercised absolute power in the name of the convention,

[1] 'Les Français, qui sont le peuple le plus doux, et même le plus bienveillant de la terre, tant qu'il demeure tranquille dans son naturel, en devient le plus barbare, dès que de violentes passions l'en font sortir.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 275; Freeman, *Hist. of Fed. Gov.* i. 60, n.

and arrested its enemies, at pleasure; while the revolutionary tribunal condemned the accused, almost without a hearing, in the name of liberty.[1]

Heroism of the revolution.

One of the redeeming characteristics of the revolution —in the midst of its violence, its rashness, and its crimes—is the heroism of its principal characters. The victims of the guillotine displayed the noblest courage and endurance. The king and queen died in the spirit of Christian martyrs: Madame Roland, Danton, and the Girondists met their doom with the calm fortitude of the ancient stoics. Condorcet hid himself in Paris until he had finished his *Progrès de l'esprit humain*, when he came forth from his hiding-place to die.

Reformation of the Calendar.

In the midst of events so momentous, we read of the childish reformation of the Calendar with a sad smile. History and Christianity were to be effaced, by dividing time upon a new republican model. The Sabbath was ingeniously suppressed, by changing the familiar weeks into periods of ten days, and by a strange nomenclature.

The worship of Reason.

An extravagance, yet more profane, disgraced the revolutionary party. The commune, headed by Hébert, insisted upon substituting for the Christian faith the worship of Reason. The noble cathedral of Notre-Dame was consecrated, in the presence of the convention, to the goddess of Reason, personated by a ballet dancer, in the transparent costume of the stage. But the committee of public safety, under Robespierre, maintained the worship of the Supreme Being, and asserted the principle of religious liberty. The great mass of the people, inflamed by the revolutionary spirit, had

November 10, 1793.

[1] In the midst of this reign of terror twenty-three theatres were open every night in Paris, and sixty dancing saloons.—Mercier, *Mem.* ii. 124.

CHAP. XIV.

been hostile to the Church, as a privileged body: but infidelity had not taken deep root amongst them. The frantic leaders of the revolution were infidels of various types: but their hatred of Christianity was alien to the principles of democracy, and to the general sentiments of the French people.[1] The Church of Rome survived their assaults. There was no new faith to supplant it:[2] but it was opposed by a negation of all faith, or by strange and idle fantasies, which appealed neither to the sentiments nor the reasonable judgment of the nation. The revolution, hostile to all religion, found support from none;[3] and while it abased the Catholic clergy, its contempt for every creed restrained it from religious persecution.[4]

Ascendency of Robespierre.

The commune and the committee of public safety shared in all the iniquities of the reign of terror: but the commune surpassed their rivals in revolutionary extravagance. Meanwhile, in the party of the Mountain itself were men who, having so far advanced with the revolution, now desired a pause in its career of violence and bloodshed, and some legal restraints upon the tyranny of the executive. Foremost among them were the redoubtable Danton and Camille Desmoulins. Robespierre, and the committee of public safety, were assailed by both these parties: by Hébert

[1] De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 275.

[2] 'Une religion ne peut être extirpée que par une autre religion.'—Edgar Quinet, *La Rév.* ii. 36.

[3] Ibid. i. 164.

[4] 'Il y a deux manières de résoudre les questions religieuses: ou l'interdiction, ou la liberté. La révolution n'a employé ni l'une ni l'autre de ces moyens. Les révolutionnaires proscrivaient, en fait, les cultes, et ils gardaient, en théorie, la tolérance; ce qui l'ôtait, à la fois, l'avantage que les modernes tirent de la tolérance, et l'avantage que les anciens ont tiré de la proscription.'—Ibid. i. 128.

and the commune on one side, and by Danton and his friends on the other. With consummate cunning, Robespierre effected the ruin of both. The former were condemned as anarchists, the latter as enemies of the revolution.[1] Robespierre was now master of the convention, of the commune, of the committee of public safety, of the revolutionary tribunal, and of France. He justified his uncontrolled power as 'the despotism of liberty against tyranny.'

The committee of public safety, known as the Decemvirs, were insatiate of blood,—not from any natural cruelty or ferocity of character, but from a settled conviction that terror was necessary for uniting the forces of the revolution against foreign and domestic enemies. There was also a cold calculation that death was the only security against their enemies. In the words of Barrère, 'Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas.' The dread triumvirate most guilty of these monstrous outrages upon humanity were Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, who ruled the committee of public safety. The first is said to have been the least bloodthirsty of the three. Before his revolutionary career, he had resigned a judgeship at Arras rather than condemn a fellow-creature to death.[2] But he was a fanatic, who believed in terror as a sacred duty. St. Just was a philosopher, of intense convictions, rather than a fanatic—bold, resolute, and without human pity. 'Dare,' said he,—'there lies the whole secret of revolutions.' Couthon was another fanatic, whose counte-

The committee of public safety.

[1] At this time Robespierre thus described his policy:—'Le ressort du gouvernement populaire, en révolution, est à la fois la vertu et la terreur: la vertu, sans laquelle la terreur est funeste; la terreur, sans laquelle la vertu est impuissante.'

[2] Carlyle, *Hist.* i. 124.

CHAP. XIV.

nance bespoke gentleness: but his devilish creed of terror steeled him against mercy.

A republic of the virtues proclaimed.

Yet these men, whose rule was the shedding of blood, who were blind to justice and insensible to the common principles of humanity, whose cold and calculated cruelties are without a parallel in the history of nations, were planning a model republic, representing all the virtues. Its watchwords were 'liberty, equality, and fraternity:' its first principle was virtue: its worship the Supreme Being: the rule of its citizens probity, good sense, and modesty. This hideous mockery of principles, which were hourly outraged in practice, was gravely inaugurated by its authors Fêtes were decreed in honour of the Supreme Being, truth, justice, modesty, friendship, frugality, and good faith!

Robespierre its high priest. 20 Prairial, 1794.

This new republican creed was celebrated throughout France, on the 20th Prairial, 1794. At Paris, Robespierre officiated as its high priest. Attired in a sky-blue coat and black breeches, and holding a bouquet of flowers and wheat-ears, he strutted fifteen paces in front of the convention. This strange augury of the new republic was not lost upon observers. In the high priest of liberty and equality, men perceived the coming usurper.

Increased fury of the tribunal.

Robespierre had triumphed over all his enemies, and he might now rest awhile. Surely blood enough had been shed! Not so thought the triumvirs. The revolutionary tribunal was too slow, and trammelled by too many forms. The accused had found defenders: none should henceforth be allowed. They were now tried singly: let them hereafter be tried in battalions: They had been judged according to revolutionary law: let them now be judged by the conscience of the jury.

Members of the convention could not be judged without the consent of their own body: this privilege they were forced to renounce, and henceforth they were the slaves of the committee of public safety. The tribunal could not condemn its victims fast enough; and it was divided into four, that its vengeance might be fourfold. Fouquier Thinville, and his colleagues, were now able to send fifty victims daily to the hungry guillotine. Pretended plots were discovered among the helpless prisoners; and their overcrowded cells were cleared by the nightly tumbril, which bore them to ruthless trial and execution.

Decline of Robespierre's power.

But the end of this murderous tyranny was approaching. The terrible Robespierre had struck down the leaders of every party: he was himself the idol of the populace: the leading spirit of the Jacobins: all powerful with the commune of Paris: supreme in the convention: the chief of the revolution. But in his blood-stained career, he had raised against himself implacable hatreds, jealousies, and suspicions. In his own committees,[1] through which he governed, and in the convention, which he had subdued to his will, he had enemies and rivals, who distrusted him as an usurper. Thwarted by his colleagues, he withdrew from the committees and the convention, and threw himself more than ever upon the Jacobins and the democracy of Paris. With these he plotted the overthrow of the committees, and of the convention. First he endeavoured to arouse the convention against the committees: but all parties united to oppose him, and he was foiled. He had lost his influence over that body, which had lately been terrified into submission.

[1] There was the committee *de salut publique* and *de sûreté générale*.

CHAP. XIV.

Attack upon the convention. 9 Thermidor.

From the convention, he appealed to the democracy: he denounced his recent defeat as the proscription of the patriots, and conspired with the commune and the Jacobins, to overthrow his enemies by an armed *coup d'état.* Before it was effected, the triumvirs again tried their strength in the convention: but their conspiracy was already known, and they were denounced and arrested. The commune released them from their arrest, and conducted them to the Hôtel de Ville: the tocsin was sounded, and the people were called to arms. For a time the convention was in imminent danger: even its own guns were turned against it: but the gunners, seduced for a moment, refused to fire. The convention confronted its dangers with courage: it placed the conspirators beyond the law; and its commissioners, hastening to the insurgent sections, brought them over to the side of the convention. While the conspirators were preparing to march against the Tuileries, the convention invested the Hôtel de Ville. The triumvirs and their confederates were at bay, and there was no escape. Robespierre endeavoured to elude his enemies by blowing out his brains: but was seized, with his jaw broken. Couthon also vainly attempted suicide: St. Just awaited his arrest with composure.[1]

Fall of the triumvirs.

Execution of Robespierre.

Robespierre was carried upon a litter, shattered and bleeding, to the committee of general safety. There he was assailed with taunts and reproaches, and sent on to the Conciergerie. Condemned by his own revolutionary tribunal, with upwards of twenty of his confederates, he was borne to the scaffold, amidst the

[1] There are different versions of this arrest, but this is the most generally received.

execrations and rejoicings of the multitude. The brutal mob was ever ready to exult over the shedding of blood. It had yelled at the execution of royalists and Girondists, of Danton and Hébert; and now it revelled in the death of Robespierre. The leader of the Jacobins seemed to have no friends. He had lately been extolled as the incorruptible; and now he was condemned and reviled as infamous. Even the Jacobin clubs forswore him. A few months before, Danton had said—'I carry Robespierre with me: Robespierre follows me;' and his prediction was now fulfilled. The crimes of which he had been guilty were, at length, avenged upon his own head. The leaders of every faction, which had borne a part in this bloody revolution, had now been brought to the scaffold, or had died a violent death—royalists, constitutional revolutionists, Girondists, Hébertists, Danton and his followers, and at last, the arch-revolutionist and his confederates.

10 Thermidor, 1794.

The fall of Robespierre was followed by the first symptoms of reaction, in the revolutionary fever. Blood enough had been shed to sicken all but fanatics and savages; and the majority of the convention, differing in many points, were agreed that the reign of terror should be closed.

Reaction.

The revolutionary tribunal was suspended; and its hateful president, Fouquier-Thinville, was tried and executed for his crimes. The tribunal was re-constituted; and the regular procedure of a court of justice restored. The suspected, who had escaped the guillotine, were treated with indulgence, and gradually released from prison. The sections of Paris, instead of meeting every day, were restricted to a meeting once

11 Thermidor.

CHAP. XIV.

in ten days; and the fee of forty sous a day was withdrawn from the poorer citizens who attended.

Agents of the reign of terror punished.

So far this was a return to law and order; and those who were now brought to judgment, were not the suspected enemies of the revolution, but the most guilty agents of the reign of terror, who had cruelly and wantonly shed the blood of innocent men, women, and children.

The followers of Robespierre.

The followers of Robespierre, however, led by Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Carrier, were not content to submit to the dominant party in the convention,[1] by whom they had been threatened with punishment for their past misdeeds. They had lost their influence in the convention, and in the commune: but they had still the support of the Jacobins, and were busy in the faubourgs of Paris. They complained of their proscription: patriots, they said, were now thrown into dungeons, from which aristocrats had been released: the convention was denounced; and dangerous appeals were addressed to the populace.

Jeunesse dorée.

But this was a period of general reaction, and the convention boldly profited by its support. It put down the famous confederation of clubs.[2] It met the agitators upon their own ground, in the faubourgs, and appealed to the sections for support against the disturbers of order. The most noticeable sign of reaction, however, was found in the *jeunesse dorée*, a body of young men who marched through the streets, as defenders of order.[3] Armed with loaded canes, they

[1] Since the fall of Robespierre this party had been called the *Thermidorien* party.

[2] *Supra*, p. 148.

[3] They wore grey coats with black collars, and crape on the arm, in memory of the reign of terror; and wore long hair plaited at the temples.

boldly charged the revolutionary mobs, and took the Jacobin club by storm. This formidable club was now closed, by order of the convention, and the revolutionists were deprived of their chief rallying point.

Continued reaction.

The conservative character of the convention was also strengthened, by recalling sixty-seven members who had been excluded for their moderation; and twenty-two members of the conventional and Girondist parties who had been proscribed.[1] The decree for the exile of the nobles and priests was repealed; and public worship was restored.[2]

Proceedings against the terrorists.

Nor was the reaction confined to remedial laws. To satisfy justice, and to guard against a revival of the revolution, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and other prominent terrorists, were brought to trial, and numbers of public functionaries of that party were removed. Again the faubourgs were aroused. Great numbers had been implicated in the events of the last two years; and who could say how far the proscription of the patriots would be pressed? The agitation was increased by wide-spread suffering among the people. There was great scarcity of provisions: prices had risen, and the forty sous a day had been withdrawn from the poor. Trade had been ruined by the disorders of the time. There was little demand for manual labour: the rich had been driven into exile, guillotined, or imprisoned: employers, in terror of their lives, subject to requisitions, without security for their capital, and embarrassed by worthless assignats

[1] They had been absent for eighteen months.

[2] A few months afterwards, in consequence of the activity of the royalist priests, this latter concession was withdrawn.

CHAP. XIV

and the extravagant law of the maximum, were paralysed in their enterprises. Here were accumulated the most dangerous elements of revolution; and they soon threatened the overthrow of the reactionary government.

Insurrections.

First, a rising was attempted to save the terrorist chiefs from trial. A mob of petitioners marched upon the convention, but were routed by the *jeunesse dorée*. While the trial was proceeding before the convention, armed insurgents forced the guard, and made their way into the very chamber of the convention. A second time the convention was rescued by friendly citizens: the tocsin[1] was sounded, and the neighbouring sections flew to arms and repelled the insurgents.

Invasion of the convention. 1 Prairial, 1795.

A third insurrection, more deeply planned, was well nigh successful. The deliberations of the convention were interrupted by the intrusion of an armed mob, clamouring for bread and the constitution of 1793. The chamber became the scene of a fearful fray. Deputies drew their swords: the guards rushed in to their rescue: shots were fired by the insurgents: one deputy was killed, and another wounded: most of the deputies fled; and the mob gained possession of the chamber. Boissy-d'Anglas, the temporary president of the convention, behaved with noble firmness. With pikes at his breast, the mob insisted upon his putting to the vote the demands of the insurgents: but he refused, and rebuked them for their violence. But the other deputies, who had kept their places, being in league with the insurgents, at once proceeded to decree their demands, which released the 'patriots,' restored the constitution of 1793, and placed the government in their hands.

[1] This formidable signal had been taken from the commune, and was now the safeguard of the convention.

CHAP. XIV.

Meanwhile, the commissaries of the convention, who had been despatched to the sections for aid, returned at the head of a body of armed citizens, drove out the insurgents at the point of the bayonet, and recalled the deputies, who had fled for safety, to their places. The decrees of the false deputies and the usurping mob were forthwith annulled; and twenty-eight of the conspiring deputies were arrested and sent out of Paris. The sections were now disarmed: they had already lost their leaders and their organisation; and henceforth the populace of Paris ceased to rule the destinies of France. The government was restored to the moderate party in the convention—the representatives of the middle classes.

Rescue of the convention.

The sections disarmed.

The extreme party of the revolution had fallen: but not until by its extraordinary vigour, it had made France victorious over all her enemies. Her troops had occupied the Netherlands, and held possession of the Rhine. Prussia and Spain had made peace. The country was safe from invasion; and its very safety contributed to the fall of the extreme party, whose violent and arbitrary measures could no longer be necessary for its defence.

France victorious in the wars.

But the reaction did not rest here. The royalists rejoiced at the fall of the terrorists: but they spared the revolution: they respected the republican convention no more than the committee of public safety. Their single aim was the restoration of the monarchy.[1] They differed widely, indeed, among themselves: the priests and nobles would have restored the *ancien*

Royalist reaction.

[1] The Dauphin, only son of Louis XVI., died in prison on June 8, 1795; and his succession to the throne had fallen upon Louis XVIII., then in command of the emigrant army.

CHAP. XIV.

régime, with all its privileges: the middle classes and *bourgeoisie* desired a constitutional monarchy, with free institutions. The old jealousies of orders and classes were not forgotten, but they all agreed in enmity to the republic. The convention stood between the royalists on one side, and the violent revolutionists, whom it had lately repressed, on the other. The *jeunesse dorée*, lately the champions of order, and defenders of the convention, now sided with the royalists, and threatened the republic.

Royalist excesses.

France was just escaping from the revolutionary reign of terror; and now the royalists, in the provinces, were wreaking vengeance upon their late oppressors. At Lyons, at Marseilles, and other towns, they nearly rivalled the commissaries of the committee of public safety. Revolutionists were slaughtered in their prisons, pursued and cut down in the streets, or cast headlong into the river. The revolution was still demanding its victims; and it was the turn of its authors and agents to suffer.

New constitution.

Meanwhile, the convention opposed to both extremes, and intent upon restoring peace and order to France, was maturing a new constitution. The executive power was invested in a Directory of five members: the legislative in two councils or chambers,—the council of five hundred, and the council of 'ancients,' consisting of two hundred and fifty. One-third of each of these bodies was to be renewed every year, but, in order to frustrate the designs of the royalists it was provided that, at the first election, two-thirds of the council of five hundred should be chosen from members of the convention. The Directory was to be nominated by the council of five hundred, and appointed by the council of ancients.

CHAP. XIV.

Royalist insurrection.

The royalists revolted against the new constitution, and especially the re-election of members of the convention, whom they had hoped to supplant; and raised a formidable insurrection in Paris. The convention entrusted its defence to Barras, and to Napoleon Bonaparte, who had already shown his generalship at the taking of Toulon. The appointment of this extraordinary man changed the course of the revolution, and of the history of Europe.[1]

Defence of the convention by Napoleon Bonaparte. 13 Vendémiaire, 1795.

The convention was about to be assailed by an armed insurrectionary force of forty thousand men, and was defended by five thousand. Bonaparte, with the cool judgment of a consummate soldier, drew up his troops and artillery so as to place the convention beyond the reach of assault. He dealt with the insurgents as with an enemy on the field of battle, and routed them—not by street fighting, but by military skill and strategy. His terrible artillery, loaded with grapeshot, swept them from the quays and streets, and the insurrection was at an end. That day proved the mastery of an army over a mob, and foreshadowed the time when the sword should overcome the revolution.

The two councils elected.

When the insurrection had been repressed, the new constitution was completed. The two councils, when constituted, appointed the Directory,[2] and the new government was complete. The convention, which had passed through so many vicissitudes,[3] was no more; but among its last acts it had decreed an amnesty, and had changed the Place of the Revolution into the Place of Concord.

[1] M. Lanfrey has thrown much new light upon his character: *Hist. de Napoléon, Ier.*

[2] La Réveillère-Lepeaux, Rewbell, Letourneur, Barras, and Carnot.

[3] The convention had lasted from Sept. 21, 1793, to Oct. 26, 1795.

CHAP. XIV.

France under the Directory.

A more settled form of government had now been established: each of the extreme parties had, in turn, been overcome: the moderate republicans were in power; and the people, exhausted by their struggles and sufferings, were sighing for repose. Passionate faith in the revolution had been rudely shaken: illusions had vanished: but a republic had been secured. The Directory were confronted by bankrupt finances, by disorganised armies, and by famine: but they met these evils with energy and judgment. Their moderation inspired general confidence. They put down the lingering insurrection in La Vendée: they discovered and punished the conspiracy of the communists under Babœuf,[1] and the plots of the royalists in the army. The first signs of political calm were followed by a marked social revival. Society began to resume its wonted habits and luxuries: commerce improved; and the working classes, whose labour had been set free from all restraints, by the abolition of corporations and privileges, were prosperous. At length, the wounds of the revolution appeared to be healing. Paris gave itself up once more to pleasure and gaiety. Released from terror, the Parisians wantoned again in the delights of their bright capital.

The war.

Prosperity and confidence were reviving in France: but the war had been languishing, and the treachery of Pichegru had exposed the republic to serious danger. Prompt measures were taken for restoring the military power of the country. Bonaparte, Jourdan, and Moreau were entrusted with the command of three great armies;

[1] This seems almost, if not quite, the first outbreak of communism. The conspirators proclaimed the 'common good' and 'a division of property.'

CHAP. XIV.

and to Bonaparte was given the army of Italy. By the marvellous victories of this great general, Austria was forced to submit to a disastrous peace: republican institutions were further extended beyond the bounds of France; and the victorious general became master of the republic. He created the Cisalpine republic of Milan and the Roman States,[1] and the republics of Venice and Genoa.[2] The arms of the French republic had overthrown the monarchies of Europe; and the foundation of republics everywhere followed her victories. Emperors and kings had combined against democracy; and democracy had been spreading, like a flood, over their fairest domains.

1796.

Royalists in the councils.

Hitherto the Directory had been well supported by the councils: but in the elections in May, 1797, the royalists obtained a majority in both assemblies. The traitor Pichegru was elected president of the council of five hundred; the royalist Barthélemy was nominated to the Directory. The reaction, which had already been strong in the provinces and in the streets of Paris, was now for a time master of the legislature, and had gained a footing in the executive. It was supported and encouraged by crowds of emigrant nobles and priests, who had returned from their exile. The republic and the government were too strong to be suddenly overthrown by the royalists in the legislature. But what if another election should fill it with royalists? Their leaders counted upon this result, and were plotting to overthrow the Directory.

The new constitution threatened the ruin of the

[1] The Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara, were ceded by the Pope, and united to the Cisalpine republic of the Milanais.

[2] By the treaty of Campo Formio, Venice was afterwards given up to Austria.

CHAP. XIV.

republic; and the Directory determined to appeal suddenly from the royalists of the legislature, and the provinces, to the republican armies of France. Threatening addresses were presented to the councils. 'Tremble, ye royalists,' said the army of Italy; 'from the Adige to the Seine is but a step.' Menaces were promptly followed by deeds. Troops were brought from the army of the Sambre-et-Meuse, and quartered at Versailles, Meudon, and Vincennes. On the night of August 2, the troops entered Paris under Augereau, and early in the morning occupied the Tuileries, and arrested Pichegru and the leading members of the royalist party. The councils were dispersed, and ordered to meet at the Odéon and the School of Medicine. The directors Carnot and Barthélemy were also placed under arrest.

Measures of the Directory.

18 Fructidor, An V. 3 August, 1797.

Whatever the constitution of France, she was clearly to be governed by the sword. Bonaparte had saved the republican convention by his artillery; Augereau had overthrown the royalist councils at the point of the bayonet. To this had the republic come. The monarchy had been struck down: the king and queen had died upon the scaffold: thousands of royalists had suffered death, exile, or the dungeon: liberty, equality, and fraternity had been proclaimed among men: a subtle constitution had been framed to ward off usurpers; and now a military *coup d'état*, after the example of Cromwell, was necessary to save the republic from a royalist reaction!

France ruled by the sword.

This bold *coup d'état* was followed by a general proscription of the royalist party. Hitherto each defeated party in succession had been sent to the guillotine: but now the proscribed royalists were transported to Cayenne

Proscription of the royalists.

or the island of Ré—a hopeful change in the bloody annals of the revolution. But the proscription was not less thorough. Hostile journalists, and active partisans in the elections, were banished: the law permitting the return of priests and emigrants was repealed: the elections of many departments were annulled, to make room for republican candidates. Throughout France the royalists were again beaten down by force, and by violations of the new constitution.

The republican army.

Meanwhile, the army had saved the republic at home: it had scattered the enemies of France abroad. The armed coalition was at an end; and England was the only power still at war with the republic. Bonaparte was received in Paris with all the honours of a Roman triumph; and the coming Cæsar was welcomed with enthusiasm. But what should now be done with the army, and with its too powerful general? The Directory had won its present power by the sword, and was not yet prepared to submit to its rule. The troops could neither be kept at home, nor disbanded with safety; and, above all, Bonaparte must be dispatched to a distant enterprise. With these views, an expedition to Egypt was projected, to wound England through her Indian possessions. Bonaparte readily accepted the command, which promised fresh victories and glory. Its distance, its difficulties, and even the vagueness of its objects, appealed to the imagination: it was another chapter from the life of Cæsar. Sailing from Toulon with a fleet of four hundred sail, bearing part of the army of Italy, he took possession of Malta, and passed on to the fabled land of Egypt.

Expedition to Egypt.

19 May, 1798.

To Switzerland.

There were other enterprises nearer home, for the restless valour of the army. The republican constitu-

CHAP. XIV.

tion of Switzerland was no protection against French democracy; and the Directory soon found occasion to establish the Helvetic Republic, upon French revolutionary principles, by force of arms.[1]

Propaganda of the revolution.

Rome was also changed by French arms into a republic. Naples was soon afterwards added to the number of revolutionised States, as the Parthenopean Republic. The victories of French arms became everywhere the triumphs of democracy. Revolutionary France was making converts, as Mohammed had made them, at the point of the sword: but the flashing sword of France, however terrible, was not destined to continue much longer the harbinger of democracy.

Renewal of the coalition against France. 1798.

The Directory, which had lately been seeking outlets for its troops, was suddenly surprised by events which demanded all the military resources of France. Negotiations with the emperor at Rastadt were broken off; the French plenipotentiaries, on their return home, were murdered: the coalition was renewed: and France was again at war with Europe. Under like circumstances, the revolutionary government had relied upon a levy *en masse*: but the Directory introduced the more regular system of a conscription, which at once placed at its disposal two hundred thousand men, and laid the foundation of the military ascendency of France.

Troubles of the Directory.

The first issues of the war, however, were disastrous to the French. They were defeated in Italy, on the Rhine, in Holland, and in Switzerland; and the invasion of France was threatened on every side. Military failures are generally fatal to an executive government; and they were not the only troubles by which the Directory was beset. In the elections of

[1] See *supra*, vol. i., 377–85.

CHAP. XIV.

May, 1798, the prostration of the royalists had led to the triumph of many of the extreme revolutionary or 'anarchist' party, whose elections were annulled by the Directory. Again, at the elections of May, 1799, conducted in the midst of military disasters, the extreme republicans, and other candidates hostile to the Directory, prevailed over the friends of the government. Hitherto the Directory, when at variance with the legislature, had overcome it by force of arms and high-handed violations of the constitution: but weakened and divided, it was now forced to yield to the angry majority in the councils, and resigned.

18 June, 1799.

The new Directory.

In the new Directory, the moderate and extreme republicans were both represented;[1] and Barras, having belonged to each of the revolutionary parties in turn, now began to intrigue with the royalists.[2] In the midst of distracted councils, the parties into which France had been divided, during the revolution, were seeking for mastery. The hopes of the royalists had been revived by the threatening advances of the coalition, which, however, were soon checked by French victories. The revolutionists and the moderate republicans were watching each other, in the Directory and in the councils, and were plotting the overthrow of their rivals. Barras was in correspondence with the Bourbons; Sieyès, whose ideal had long been a moderate republic, was preparing to defend the constitution against the revolutionists, by another military *coup d'état.*

[1] The new directory were Barras, Sieyès, Moulins, Roger-Ducos, and Gohier.

[2] 'Ayant trahi, tour à tour, tous les partis, renié toutes les opinions, il ne représentait plus qu'une chose, l'immoralité: mais telle était la corruption publique et privée, que c'était encore là une force.'—Lanfrey, *Hist. de Nap. Ier*, i. 424.

CHAP. XIV.

Bonaparte returns from Egypt.

In this critical condition of parties, Bonaparte returned from Egypt. His exploits had been brilliant, but unfruitful: he saw no field, in that distant realm, for further glory; and political affairs at home demanded his immediate presence in the capital. He was the foremost citizen of France, her greatest general, the idol of the army, an adroit and resolute negotiator, the creator of foreign republics; and his career had kept him aloof from domestic factions. His ambition was as vast as his genius; and he was without scruples. Force was his ideal of government. Before his expedition to Egypt, he had conceived projects of usurpation, which would have been carried into effect if the Directory had failed in its *coup d'état* against the councils (3rd Aug. 1797), and had the time seemed ripe for action.

His relations with Sieyès.

In his journey through France, and in Paris, he was received with ovations. He was courted by all parties, but committed himself to none. Sieyès, who was seeking a general to overthrow the Jacobins, penetrated the dangerous ambition of Bonaparte, and hesitated to confide to him his scheme. But they were brought together by mutual friends: the suspicions of Sieyès were allayed; and Bonaparte found in the practised politician an opportune ally.

Coup d'état. 18 Brumaire, 1799.

On November 9 their arrangements were completed. The council of ancients, alarmed by tales of Jacobin conspiracies and the renewal of the reign of terror, were easily persuaded, by accomplices of the crafty Sieyès, to decree the removal of the legislature to St. Cloud. Bonaparte was appointed general of the seventeenth division, and entrusted with the execution of their decree. All had been prepared: Bonaparte was

ready with his troops and with proclamations to the people. The Directory, taken by surprise and deprived of their guard, offered no resistance. But there were grave dangers yet to be surmounted. The republicans of Paris were provoked to frenzy by the daring plot. Bonaparte was execrated as a Cæsar and a Cromwell, and however anxious for a time to wear a mask, his proclamations had betrayed his ambition and egotism. He reproved the Directory with the airs of a potentate. 'What have you done,' he said, 'with this France which I left you so glorious? I left you peace: I find war I left you victories: I find reverses. I left you the millions of Italy: I find everywhere spoliation and misery. What have you done with a hundred thousand Frenchmen whom I knew—all my comrades in glory? They are dead.' In vain he assured the people that any attempt upon the liberties of France would be a sacrilege. The dictator stood revealed, and the men who had made so many sacrifices for freedom gnashed their teeth with rage. Would Paris rise, in its might, against the ambitious soldier? Would his troops be true to him, or to the republic? The submission of the Directory: the adhesion of the council of ancients: a vague dread of the Jacobins: confidence in the constitutional party, and the prompt measures of the conspirators, combined to avert a rising of the populace of Paris. But there was still the council of five hundred to overcome, and it proved the greatest peril of the enterprise.

Bonaparte and his troops.

On the following day, the councils met at the palace of St. Cloud, which was surrounded by troops. Sieyès, cunning in the tactics of revolution, had counselled the previous arrest of his most dangerous

The council of ancients.

CHAP. XIV.

opponents. Bonaparte despised their impotence, and trusted to the bayonets of his soldiers. First presenting himself at the bar of the council of ancients, he complained of the calumnies against himself, and professed his devotion to liberty and equality. He was desired to swear obedience to the constitution: but having recounted, with great presence of mind, how often the constitution had already been violated, he said that new guarantees were required. The ancients were satisfied, and applauded. As they had already made themselves parties to the *coup d'état*, their compliance was to be counted upon. But it was otherwise with the five hundred.

The Council of Five Hundred.

Flushed with his recent success, Bonaparte proceeded to the hall of the five hundred, attended by some soldiers, whom he left inside the door, while he advanced alone and uncovered to the bar. But the deputies, on seeing the soldiers, shouted 'Down with the dictator!' and one of them, taking him by the arm, rebuked him so sternly that he withdrew, escorted by his soldiers.[1] In the council there was tumult: cries were raised to place the tyrant beyond the law, and his brother Lucien, the president, left the chair. Sieyès and Bonaparte, informed of the tumult, sent troops into the council, who returned with Lucien Bonaparte. The latter assured the troops that daggers had been raised against their general in the council: that the majority of the deputies were held in terror by their colleagues. Bonaparte gave orders to clear the council, and a body of grenadiers marched into the hall and turned out the

[1] 'Venu pour intimider, le général pâlit, il tombe en défaillance dans les bras de ses grenadiers, qui l'entraînent hors de la salle.'—Lanfrey, *Hist. de Nap. Ier*, i. 472.

indignant deputies at the point of the bayonet. The plot was ill designed and clumsily executed, but it was successful. Like Cromwell, Bonaparte was too strong to be resisted: but to assemble the councils merely to disperse them, by a coarse display of military force, was a wanton and perilous outrage, which, for a time, was on the point of failure.[1]

Disregard for liberty throughout the revolution.

From this time forth, it was idle to speak of any government but that of the sword. Throughout the revolution, indeed, there had never been any semblance of liberty. How had each party, in succession, gained the ascendent? By tumults, by violence, by mobs, by terror, by the guillotine, by armed insurrections, and by military force. The Directory had violated the constitution, again and again, against royalists and Jacobins. No party had scrupled to use force, to acquire or to retain power. Bonaparte was preparing to trample upon all parties alike. He acknowledged no party: he recognised no principles: but, filled with a selfish ambition, he was resolved to rule by the sword. Sieyès and his party, and probably the republican soldiers who had obeyed the orders of their general, believed that he was merely repressing anarchy: but he had made himself master of the republic.

Bonaparte First Consul.

The republican leaders knew that the republic was no more: but the people, after years of revolution and popular misrule, were slow to realise the danger of a military despot. The royalists flattered themselves that the Bourbons would be restored: while the mode-

[1] Louis Napoleon, half a century later, perpetrated his daring and unscrupulous *coup d'état* with far more judgment. He arrested the leaders of the Assembly in the night; and did not allow the meeting of the body, which he had resolved to overthrow. See *infra*, chap. xvii.

CHAP. XIV.

ration of the new rulers went far to allay suspicions of the dictator. A provisional government was announced, consisting of three consuls,—Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger-Ducos; and of two commissions for the preparation of another constitution.

Constitution of Sieyès.

Sieyès was once more in his element, framing an ingenious and impracticable constitution. After all his experience of the revolution, he was still contriving to shackle ambition, and enchain factions, with constitutional cobwebs. He offered the ambitious soldier, who had the republic at his feet, the high sounding office of *proclamateur-électeur*, with great dignity, and revenues, but with power little more than nominal. Bonaparte contemptuously asked how any man of talent could be expected to play the part of a hog fattening upon some millions;[1] and the scheme was at once put aside. The constitution of Sieyès, amended by Bonaparte, laid the foundations of an imperial throne. The executive power was entrusted to the first consul, with whom two consuls were associated for consultation. The senate, nominated by the consuls, the legislature elected by the senate, the tribunate and the *conseil d'état*, were the institutions of an autocracy. The first consul was everything: the people were ignored. This narrow constitution was, nevertheless, approved by more than three million citizens.[2]

General reaction.

The reaction against revolution, and in favour of order, and a settled government, was general. A series of revolutions without liberty: a succession of rulers,

[1] 'Voulut se résigner au rôle d'un cochon à l'engrais de quelques millions.'

[2] The plebiscite was not now introduced for the first time. The constitution of 1793 had been approved by less than two millions; and that of the year III. by little more than one million votes.

arbitrary, violent, and oppressive: disorders, anarchy, mob-rule, and the reign of terror, had wearied the people of revolutionary experiments. Among this party of reaction were to be reckoned the new owners of the soil, who had bought church lands and confiscated estates. These men dreaded, above all things, any disturbance of their rights: they were in fear of the return of the royalists, on one side, and of renewed revolutions, on the other. Hence they welcomed a government founded upon the principles of the revolution, and supported by the army.

The rule of Bonaparte. May and June, 1800.

Bonaparte was now chief of the State: but in wielding the sceptre, he did not lay aside the sword. He reconquered Italy at Marengo, and returned, after a brief absence, with new glories, and increased popularity. In civil affairs, his first efforts were directed to the conciliation of parties. Superior to all, and connected with none, he desired to bring the best men, of every party, into the service of the State. This policy, however, was rudely interrupted. His assassination was attempted, by an infernal machine, planned in England, by royalists (*chouans*). Attributing the plot to the republicans, he arbitrarily transported one hundred and thirty members of that party; and created special military tribunals for the trial of offences. These arbitrary acts at once alienated the republicans, and the constitutional party, who protested against violations of the law. They served also to betray the despotic spirit of the chief of the republic.

Peace of Amiens. March 25, 1802.

The peace, at length concluded with the European powers, left the first consul free to apply himself to the internal condition of France. By an amnesty, and by indulgence to the emigrant nobles and refractory

CHAP. XIV.

priests, he endeavoured to restore society to its accustomed relations. He encouraged industry and commerce. By his celebrated codes, he designed a new body of law for a country which, having cast off its ancient traditions, and passed through a period of convulsion, specially needed a new system of jurisprudence. France was without liberty, but she prospered under the enlightened despotism of the first consul.

Bonaparte's ambition.

While restoring peace, order, respect for law, and the material welfare of his country, he was at the same time filled with schemes of ambition. He was already maintaining the state and ceremonies of a court, at the Tuileries; and he cherished visions of the imperial purple. He was preparing society, and the institutions of France, for its acceptance. By re-establishing the Catholic Church,[1] he calculated upon the support of the Pope, and of a grateful clergy, to his future throne. Sunday, and the Catholic fête days were restored, and the revolutionary calendar was discontinued.

Ceremony at Notre-Dame.

This ecclesiastical revival,—utterly repugnant to the spirit of the revolution,[2]—was celebrated by a grand ceremony at Notre-Dame. The first consul drove to the cathedral in the state carriages of the Bourbon court. The senate, the legislative body, and all the high officers of state attended high mass, and large bodies of troops added brilliancy to the festival. A proclamation announced to the people the reconciliation of France with the sovereign pontiff; and the streets were illuminated in honour of the great event.

Having thus allied himself with the clergy and the

[1] By a concordat with the Pope, ratified August 15, 1801.

[2] It was happily said by General Delmas to Bonaparte:—'C'était une belle capucinade: il n'y manquait qu'un million d'hommes qui ont été tués pour détruire ce que vous rétablissez.'—Mignet, *Hist.* ii. 300.

CHAP. XIV.

Catholic laity, it was time to gratify the army. This he attempted by the creation of the Legion of Honour, which he designed for the double purpose of rewarding military services, and of reviving honorary titles in French society. This reactionary policy was received with great repugnance: but it formed part of his scheme for overthrowing the republic; and his will could not be resisted.

The Legion of Honour. May 1802.

These measures were but preparatory to the further aggrandisement of his own power and dignity. He was appointed, by a *Senatus-Consultum*, first consul for ten years; and three months later, first consul for life. A new constitution followed, under which the senate was empowered to change constitutions: to suspend trial by jury: to annul the judgments of tribunals: to place departments beyond the constitution; and to dissolve the legislative body and the tribunate. The first consul had with him the army and the clergy. The new political bodies,—the *conseil d'état*, the senate, the tribunate, and the legislature,—were his creatures.

Bonaparte first consul for life. May 6, 1802. August 2, 1802.

No more power was possible to the chief of a republic: but higher flights of ambition were before him. The renewal of the war with England, in 1803, raised fresh visions of glory and conquest; and some months later the obsequious senate invited him, in the interests of his country, to assume the hereditary dignity of emperor. This imperial crown he accepted, as he affirmed, 'in order to secure irrevocably the triumph of equality and public liberty.' A military empire was established upon the foundations of democracy.[1] A modern Cæsarism was created, after the

Napoleon emperor. June 1803. March 27–May 18, 1804.

[1] The Napoleonic scheme of exercising absolute power in the name of the people had already been conceived by Frederick the Great, and

CHAP. XIV.

models of Rome and Byzantium. The grateful clergy perceived, in the French empire, the finger of God, and the order of providence! The people submitted, without a murmur, to a despotism far heavier than that of the Bourbons, as it still proclaimed the principles of the revolution.

The Imperial court.

It was fit that the emperor should have his satellites; and he surrounded himself with princes and marshals of the empire. His court glittered with chamberlains, pages, and a prætorian guard. That his rule would be absolute was soon shown. The press had already little liberty enough: but it was withdrawn: the tribunate was docile: but its sittings were henceforth secret. No voice was to be heard in the preparation of laws: but the will of the emperor would be made known in decrees and proclamations.

The coronation of Napoleon. Dec. 2, 1804.

The last act of this reactionary drama was the coronation. This was celebrated at Notre-Dame, by Pope Pius VII. in person, with all possible pomp and splendour. Napoleon was there enthroned, wearing the imperial purple, and crown, and holding the coveted sceptre in his hand: the crown and sword of Charlemagne were borne before him. The usurping consul was made 'God's anointed' by the hands of the Pope: heralds proclaimed him 'Emperor of the French:' thanksgivings were addressed to heaven, in the solemn strains of the *Te Deum*; and cannon announced the joyful tidings to mankind.

forms part of his code.—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, note, p. 336.

'Descendez au fond de sa pensée, vous verrez qu'il avait pour idéal l'empire de Constantin, et de Théodore; et cette tradition, il la tenait de ces ancêtres, comme tous les Ghibelins Italiens.'—Edgar Quinet, *La Rév.* ii. 368.

'L'esprit Latin de Rome vieillie se retrouve en tout'—Ibid.

CHAP. XIV.

The French had renounced their revolution! They had overthrown their ancient monarchy: they had cast down their Church: they had abjured the Christian faith; and now they had chosen a military autocrat to rule over them: they saw him crowned and anointed, in the metropolitan cathedral, by the head of the Church which they had humbled; and they heard praises offered to God, according to the rites of a religion at which they had lately scoffed! They had abolished titles, and confiscated the estates of the nobles: but rank and dignities were revived, and the nobles were soon to recover the greater part of their property.[1] Nothing remained of a revolution which had cost such sacrifices. Not a hero of the republic was held in popular veneration: not a single fête was continued, to commemorate its glories.[2]

The revolution renounced.

Napoleon had no faith in the principles of the revolution. He had known how to flatter republicans, and found republics: he had learned the familiar language of his countrymen: but he believed that Frenchmen had no real affection for liberty, equality, and fraternity; and were moved by one sentiment only—that of honour.[3] Upon this belief he acted. He did not scruple to sacrifice liberties which he deemed to be so little prized; and he appealed, with confidence, to that sentiment of honour, which ministered to his own ambition.

Napoleon and the revolution.

The principles of the revolution, which the arms of the republic had forced upon foreign States, were now to be renounced. Democratic propagandism at once

Repudiation of republics.

[1] Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, iii. 374. See *infra*, p. 236.

[2] 'Le peuple n'a pas gardé une seule des fêtes de 1789 à 1800: cet immense bouleversement n'a pu déplacer un seul saint de village.'—Edgar Quinet, *La Rév.* ii. 121.

[3] *Mém. inédits de Thibaudeau*, cited by Mignet, ii. 301.

CHAP. XIV.

became a mockery, under the empire. The military ascendency of France continued: but kingdoms took the place of republics. The cisalpine republic which Napoleon had created, became a kingdom; and he was crowned king of Italy at Milan, with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy. Genoa, which he had formed into the Ligurian republic, was united to the empire. He endowed his sister and her husband, the Prince of Piombino, with the little republic of Lucca.

May 21, 1805.

Napoleon's military ambition.

The towering ambition of Napoleon was now more dreaded by the sovereigns of Europe than the propagandism of the republic. It threatened universal domination; and Europe was again in arms against him. But his own genius, and the valour and devotion of his soldiers, routed his enemies, and increased the ascendency of France. The zeal of his armies was influenced by victories and honours: the enthusiasm of his people, under all their sacrifices, was sustained by the sentiment of national glory.

Napoleon the Great.

After Austerlitz, and the peace of Presburg, he received, from his admiring subjects, the title of Napoleon the Great. It was their homage to the greatness of France, which he represented. At home he recast the institutions of France, upon the model of a military empire. An hereditary nobility was restored; and it was his aim to reconstitute the *ancienne noblesse* of France: military schools, or *lycées*, replaced the central schools of the republic; and the civil administration of the State was organised so as to execute, with mechanical obedience, the dictates of a single will. The centralisation of the monarchy, and the arbitrary powers of the republic, had prepared the way for his imperial rule.

1808.

CHAP. XIV.

Domination of Napoleon over Europe.

Abroad the domination of Napoleon was continually extended by his marvellous triumphs. His own kingdom of Italy was enlarged by conquests from Austria, and the Pope: Wurtemburg and Bavaria, raised into kingdoms by his arms, owed fealty to his crown: he deposed Ferdinand, king of Naples, and placed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the throne, as king of the Two Sicilies: he converted the republic of Holland into a kingdom, and sent his brother Louis to reign over it: fiefs of the empire were multiplied in Germany and Italy: he constituted himself mediator of the Swiss republic; and protector of the German princes who formed the confederation of the Rhine. Such was his influence in Germany, that Francis II. renounced his proud title of emperor. Having humbled and despoiled Austria, he partitioned Prussia. He erected the kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia, and conferred the latter upon his brother Jérôme. He 1806-7.
placed his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, and 1808.
transferred the crown of Naples to his brother-in-law Murat. He wielded the sceptre of Charlemagne; and his vassals did homage from the north, and from the south. He dethroned the Pope, and seized his re- 1809.
maining territories: he deposed his brother Louis, and added Holland to the empire. Bernadotte, one of his own generals, was elected to the throne of Sweden.[1]

Napoleon's divorce and marriage.

Great was the empire of Napoleon. It threatened to be universal; and it was hereditary: but he had no son. Hence the flagitious divorce of the Empress Josephine, and his ill-judged alliance with Marie

[1] He was elected hereditary prince, and adopted by the king, Charles XIII.

CHAP. XIV.

Louise of Austria.[1] The last link which connected him with the revolution was broken. He had been raised to power by the republican armies of France: he had established a military empire, and supported it by victories and glory: he had proved himself a greater enemy to crowned heads than the republic itself; and the popular ardour, which had sustained the republican arms, followed the victorious emperor through his wonderful career of conquest and dominion. Though absolute master of France, he was still a son of the revolution. But his second marriage connected him with the old *régime*. He was admitted to the great family of European kings, and severed from the people. Legitimacy was beyond his reach: it was the heritage of another race: but, to the revolutionary origin of the usurper, he now added the pretensions of a legitimate sovereign. Hitherto his nobility had been formed of his marshals, generals, and high officers of state—the new men of the revolution—now he sought to surround himself with the ancient nobles of France, and to blend the old *régime* with the empire. The first object of the marriage was, however, attained. An heir was born to the imperial crown, and from his cradle, bore the title of King of Rome.

Birth of the King of Rome. March 1811.

Decline of Napoleon's fortunes.

But this dazzling career of power and aggrandisement was about to be checked. Napoleon's scheme of a continental blockade, to ruin the commerce of England, had pressed severely upon the maritime States of the North, and upon the general commerce of Europe. The haughty domination of Napoleon had aroused

[1] 'Que de vies généreuses n'avait-il pas fallu immoler, de part et d'autre, pour qu'une semblable alliance fût possible entre l'ancien et le nouveau César.'—Lanfrey, *Hist. de Nap. Ier*, v. 177.

the hatred of every independent State; and now he provoked the hostility of the commercial interests of his own, and other countries. In Spain his armies were defeated by the valour of the English troops, and the genius of Wellington. His rash march upon Moscow, and his disastrous retreat, brought ruin upon his arms, and upon his empire. A great army was destroyed: his own *prestige* of victory was lost; and combinations against a falling power were encouraged. His domination over Europe was everywhere endured with repugnance. The States he had created turned against him, and made common cause with the kings whom he had conquered and despoiled. His military genius shone more brilliantly than ever: but the battle of Leipsic nearly completed the ruin which the retreat from Moscow had commenced.

Discontents in France.

Pressed by defeats, disasters, and defections abroad, his position at home was no less threatening. Constant victories had long sustained the national ardour: an exhausting conscription and burthensome taxes had been borne for the sake of glory: but defeats quickly awakened the people to a sense of their sacrifices and sufferings. They had surrendered their liberties for honour: their sons had bled on every battlefield in Europe: their industry and thrift had been burthened with the cost of prodigious armaments: their commerce had been crippled by rigorous blockades; and yet their beloved country, stripped of her conquests, was again threatened with invasion. They were weary of wars, and they had lost faith in their restless and exacting emperor. Formidable parties in the State were again scheming against his power. The priesthood, who had been gained over by the re-establishment

CHAP. XIV.

of their Church, had since been alienated by the dethronement of the Pope, and the spoliation of the Holy See. Their natural sentiments were in favour of the Bourbons and the old *régime*; and their rupture with Napoleon, and his impending ruin, quickened their loyalty to the fallen House. The royalists, who had never despaired of their cause, foresaw in the reverses of the emperor, and the successes of the confederate sovereigns, an early realisation of their long deferred hopes, and plotted actively against the government. The party of the revolution, who had been their most formidable opponents, were now inert and indifferent. Napoleon had outraged them; and they cared not for his fall.

The Legislative Assembly.

The feelings of the country found expression in the legislative body. Until Napoleon's retreat from Leipsic, they had ever been obsequious to his will: but now, instead of offering aid, in the prosecution of the war, they demanded a surrender of his conquests, and the restoration of liberty.

Napoleon's abdication.

The enemies of Napoleon were closing in upon him, on every side. In vain were fresh victories, and the most brilliant campaigns of his wonderful career. He was overpowered by numbers, and weakened by defections: the allies entered his capital, and the senate deposed him from his throne. His abdication, on behalf of himself and his son, was soon forced upon him at Fontainebleau; and he exchanged for his vast European empire, the sovereignty of the petty island of Elba.

April 11, 1814.

Results of the revolution.

France had now struggled, suffered, and bled for five-and-twenty years, through a fearful revolution and ruinous wars; and what were the results? Her enemies were in possession of her capital: all her conquests

were surrendered; and the Bourbons were restored to the throne of their ancestors.

But these were not the only consequences of the late convulsions, to France or to Europe. France, indeed, was governed by another Bourbon king: but the *ancien régime* was no more: the oppressive privileges of feudalism had been abolished; and a constitutional charter was granted by Louis XVIII. But all these benefits had been secured in the first two years of the revolution, before the monarchy had been destroyed, without a reign of terror, and without desolating wars. She had gained nothing by her crimes, her madness, her sacrifices, and her sufferings, since the constitution of the 14th September, 1791.

Effects of the revolution upon Europe.

Upon Europe, the effects of the revolution were conspicuous. The old *régime* of France was subverted; and in most European States, where a similar system had been maintained, since the middle ages, its foundations were shaken. The principles of the revolution awakened the minds of men to political thought; and the power of absolute governments was controlled by the force of public opinion. The earlier campaigns of revolutionary France also spread democracy abroad, and created a democratic party, in many States, where such a party had been hitherto unknown. The French revolution, in its expansive force, resembled the religious reformation of the sixteenth century, which stirred the whole of Christendom.[1] The sympathies of every people in Europe were aroused: the principles proclaimed in France were common to all nations alike: they were

[1] 'La révolution française est donc une révolution politique qui a opéré à la manière, et qui a pris, en quelque chose, l'aspect d'une révolution religieuse.'—De Tocqueville, *L'ancien Régime*, 16.

CHAP. XIV.

preached with the ardour of a new faith: liberty, equality, and fraternity were not only the rights of Frenchmen, but the universal 'rights of man:' they were to politics, what the right of private judgment was to religion.[1] The principles and character of democracy were changed, as well as the relations of rulers to their subjects.

Altered position of kings.

The passionate sentiments which the revolution had at first aroused, in other States, were naturally repressed by the rough domination of the French republic, and the haughty ascendency of Napoleon. The principles of the revolution were also discredited by the reign of terror,[2] and the military empire. But a change had come over the political life of Europe. Subjects had sometimes been provoked to rebellion by oppression, and wrongs: but loyalty, and reverence for the divine right of kings, had become a tradition, and almost a faith. This sentiment was severely tried by the French revolution, and the empire. Kings were dethroned, and republics created, to give place to new kings with no other title than the will of a foreign despot. The allegiance of subjects was transferred from one ruler to another, by the sword of the conqueror. Crowns seemed but baubles, to be worn for a day, and put aside, or snatched by some other hand. The traditional

[1] 'Comme elle avait l'air de tendre à la régénération du genre humain plus encore qu'à la réforme de la France, elle a allumé une passion que, jusque-là, les révolutions politiques les plus violentes n'avaient jamais pu produire.'—Ibid. 19. See also Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, ii. 240.

[2] 'La terreur est ce qui a fait perdre, en partie, au monde le sens de la révolution. La liberté parut un mensonge, le jour où on l'invoqua, une hache à la main. L'égalité donna le frisson, même à ses amants, quand elle fut l'égalité devant l'échafaud. La fraternité? Quelle énigme, quand on vit les hommes s'entr'égorger en son nom.'—Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév.* xii. 598.

reverence for thrones [1] could not withstand the teaching of such examples. With reverence less undoubting, there arose an assertion of popular rights, and a questioning of the laws by which States were governed. A marked change came over the relations of rulers and subjects, which was hereafter to show itself in revolutions, and constitutional charters; and everywhere, in the abatement of prerogatives and privileges, and the extension of popular influences.

Political reaction in Europe.

But while the principles of the revolution were silently working political changes in Europe, they were naturally abhorrent to rulers. The dangers of democracy had been painfully revealed: its excesses had aroused the horror and indignation of the civilised world: all that was noble in the revolution had been overshadowed by its crimes. Hence a reaction, dangerous to liberty itself, succeeded the first outburst of sympathy with the regeneration of a great people. Monarchs dreaded democracy, as dangerous to their thrones: the governing classes feared it, as subversive of order, and the rights of property; and liberty was everywhere confounded with democracy. For several years after the revolutionary period, political reaction was general throughout Europe.

[1] 'There's such divinity doth hedge a king,
That treason can but peep at what it would,
Acts little of his will.'—*Hamlet*, Act iv. Sc. 5.

CHAPTER XV.

FRANCE (*continued*).

THE RESTORATION—LOUIS XVIII.—WEAKNESS OF THE MONARCHY—STATE OF PARTIES—THE ROYALISTS—CHARLES X.—THE PRIEST PARTY—THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY—THE THREE DAYS OF JULY—LOUIS PHILIPPE RAISED TO THE THRONE—EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 UPON EUROPE.

CHAP. XV.

Conditions of the restoration.

Louis XVIII. was recalled to the throne of his ancestors by the senate of his own country: but, in truth, he was imposed upon France by the allied sovereigns, whose victorious armies occupied the capital.[1] Such a title, accepted by royalists who had supported the prerogatives of Louis XVI. by force of arms, was humiliating to France, which had passionately resented foreign intervention. It was repugnant alike to the revolutionary party, whose schemes were frustrated, and to the adherents of Napoleon, who had derived his power from the Revolution, and had assumed to represent its sentiments. The revolution had been in vain: the conquests of France had been wrested from

[1] In the narrative of the period of the restoration (including the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.) the following works have been mainly relied on, viz.: Lamartine, *Histoire de la Restauration*; Capefigue, *Hist. de la Restauration, par un homme d'état*; Lacretelle, *Hist. de la Restauration*; Lubis, *Hist. de la Restauration*; Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre tombe*; Louis XVIII., *Lettres et Instructions au Comte de St. Priest*, précédées d'une notice, par M. de Barante; *Politique de la Restauration à* 1822 *et* 1823, par le Comte de Marcellus.

her: her victories had been followed by crushing defeat. The restoration of the monarchy, under such conditions, was unpropitious. Nor were the acts of the king such as to win popularity. CHAP. XV.

Even in granting a constitutional charter, the Bourbon stood confessed. He declared himself to be in full possession of his hereditary rights, while he desired so to exercise the authority which he had received from God and his fathers, as to place 'limits' to his own power.[1] France was to receive her liberties as the free and gracious gift of the king, who ruled over her by divine right and hereditary title. And, still further to ignore the revolution, the charter was dated 'in the nineteenth year of our reign.' The revolution was further spurned by the abolition of the national tricolour, under which the greatest glories of the French armies had been achieved, and the restoration of the white flag of the Bourbons, which had almost come to be regarded as the standard of an enemy. Well might Napoleon say of the Bourbons, 'Ils n'ont rien appris: ils n'ont rien oubliés.' Charter of Louis XVIII. May 27, 1814.

The insecurity of the Bourbon crown, notwithstanding its divine and hereditary title, was soon disastrously proved by the triumphant return of Napoleon from Elba, and the flight of Louis from the realm, which he had so lately recovered. After an exile of a hundred days, he was again restored by his victorious allies, who had triumphed over the French armies at Waterloo; and he returned under the very shadow of the British and Prussian standards.[2] Return of Napoleon from Elba.

[1] Speech of the Chancellor M. d'Ambray.

[2] The provisional government, in a message to the Chambers, on the 7th July, 1815, stated that 'Tous les souverains s'étaient engagés à replacer

CHAP. XV.

Second restoration.

France was doubly humbled by this second restoration. Again her capital was occupied by foreign armies: her destinies were at the mercy of her enemies: the Louvre was stripped of the treasures of art which she had taken from foreign galleries: her frontiers were contracted: an indemnity of upwards of 60,000,000*l.* was exacted by her conquerors: prodigious armies were for a long time quartered upon the country;[1] and when they were at length withdrawn, a hostile army of occupation,[2] to be supported by herself, was left in her fortresses. The monarchy was restored: but, in its cause, the patriotism and honour of France were deeply wounded.

Weakness of the monarchy.

And what support had the king upon his throne? France, which he was now called upon to govern, was the France of the revolution and the empire. The principles, the passions, the parties, and the interests of a transformed society, stood between him and the monarchy of his forefathers. There was a royalist party, indeed: but the old *noblesse* had been crushed by the revolution: their estates had been confiscated, and a great part of their domains had passed into the hands of new proprietors—the creatures of the revolution. They were eclipsed by the new nobility of the empire, whose names were associated with the military glories of their country. The Church, once a great territorial power, had lost her possessions, and was a humble pensioner of the State. Nor could her influence be soon recovered. The wild irreligion of revolutionary times was not to be suddenly checked by a weakened and impo-

Louis XVIII. sur le trône, et qu'il doit faire ce soir, ou demain, son entrée dans la capitale.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* v. 117.

[1] No less than 1,140,000 men. [2] 150,000 men.

verished clergy. All the sympathies of the army, it was but too well known, were with Napoleon at St. Helena. Could Louis rely upon the traditionary devotion of the people to his royal house? Under the old monarchy, loyalty was a tender sentiment of affection and duty, akin to religion. It passed away with the revolution, and could not be revived. Napoleon had awakened it for a time, as the representative of national glory: but the ancient sentiment had not survived the revolutions, factions, and political changes of the past generation. Nor had Louis any personal claims to the attachment of his people. After his long exile, he was as much a stranger to them, as if he had dropped from the clouds. Meanwhile, France herself had been transformed by time and the revolution. Her manners, institutions, sentiments,—all were changed. France was as strange to Louis, as he to France.[1] Loyalty —the great strength of monarchies—was shaken, and respect for the law had been lost, amid the convulsions and anarchy of the revolutionary period. Authority had been too long known as an arbitrary and capricious force: it had shown itself in executions, pillage, terror, prisons, and the guillotine; and, without confidence in a government, there can be no respect for the law.

Decay of loyalty.

The revolution and the empire still lived in the hearts of Frenchmen. Many clung to the 'rights of man,' and 'the sovereignty of the people:' many had profited by the ruin of the Church and the noblesse:

Political parties.

[1] 'Tout était changé dans la patrie—mœurs, institutions, esprit religieux. Une génération nouvelle était née et croissait à l'ombre des opinions et des idées de la révolution française. . . . Une cour vieillie et France jeune, l'émigration et la révolution allaient être en présence.'—Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* i. 404.

CHAP. XV.

all were proud of the glories of French valour, under the republic and the empire. Formidable parties were opposed to the Bourbon dynasty,[1]—the republicans, a section of the liberal or constitutional party,[2] and, above all, the imperialists. The latter commanded great power and influence, notwithstanding a reaction against Napoleon, after his recent disasters. It comprised the foremost men in the army, and in the State; and was strengthened by the glorious memories of the greatest soldier of France. There was scarcely yet an Orleans party: but an influential coterie, attached to the interests of the Duke, formed a section of the liberal party. But none of these parties were so embarrassing to the king, or so dangerous to his throne, as his too zealous friends, the royalists.[3] They formed the party of reaction: they saw in the restoration a revival of the *ancien régime*: they abhorred all the principles of the revolution; and they were burning for vengeance upon their enemies. They had suffered exile and confiscations: they had witnessed the ruin of every institution, and the violation of every principle, which they had learned to cherish; and, at length, the good time had come when their wrongs were to be redressed and avenged.

The monarchy was now constitutional: but pre-

[1] 'Toutefois, les parties politiques étaient restés débout. Jamais les passions haineuses, les exigences des factions, n'avaient été plus grandes; et le spectacle des malheurs de la patrie, qui devait être si puissant sur des cœurs français, n'arrêtait pas ce débordement des opinions.' —Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* iii. 2.

[2] One section of this party was really constitutional: another was estranged from the Bourbons, and opposed to the dynasty.—Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* iv. 83.

[3] 'Les royautés neuves périssent par leurs ennemis, les restaurations par leurs amis.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* viii. 412.

CHAP. XV.

rogative was still to be paramount, in the government of the State. One of the king's first acts was to issue a royal ordinance altering the electoral law, and summoning a new legislative body, with an extended suffrage. By another ordinance he reconstructed the chamber of peers, and made it hereditary. The king further relieved all publications, except journals, from the censorship. Some of these measures were liberal: but they were the acts of prerogative, not of the legislature.

Exercise of prerogative.

Before the elections, the temper of the royalists had been displayed in many parts of France, and especially in the south. At Marseilles, at Nismes, and at Toulouse, the violence of royalist mobs recalled the atrocities of the Jacobins in 1793. An overwhelming majority of royalists found a place in the legislature, bent upon vengeance against the imperialist party, and upon a reactionary policy in the State. Their first measures provided for the punishment of seditious cries, for indefinite arrest, and for the trial of political offenders by courts-martial. They insisted upon the trial and execution of Marshal Ney, and his brethren in arms, who had returned to the standards of Napoleon.[1] When a general amnesty was proclaimed, they opposed the king's act of clemency. This party was far more royalist than the king himself; and was soon in open opposition to his government. They defeated a new electoral law, which threatened

Violence of the royalists.

[1] Of this act Lamartine says:—'Un sentiment plus dangereux que la colère, parce qu'il est plus durable, couva dans les cœurs de la jeunesse impartiale, de l'armée outragée, du peuple reconnaissant. Ce fut le dégoût pour la pusillanimité de cette cour qui n'avait pas combattu, et qui laissait répandre pour sa cause un sang populaire et glorieux, en libation à l'étranger sur un sol foulé encore par nos ennemis.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* iv. 59.

CHAP. XV.

their own influence: they resisted the budget, and were opposed to the moderation, and remedial measures of the ministers. Royalism was becoming one of the chief dangers of the State; and while the government was embarrassed by royalist zeal on one side, it was threatened, on the other, by dangerous republican conspiracies at Paris, Grenoble, and Lyons.

Coup d'état. Sept. 5, 1816.

To meet these difficulties the king resorted to the characteristic expedient of French policy, a *coup d'état*. He suddenly dissolved the legislative body, and by a royal decree proclaimed a new electoral law, with a suffrage restricted to persons paying three hundred francs direct taxation to the State, and generally resembling that provided by the charter of 1814. It was considered as a middle-class franchise, comprising the small proprietors and tradesmen, and it was founded upon the principle of direct representation. This stretch of prerogative provoked the bitterest denunciations of the royalists:[1] but it was condoned by the republican and imperialist parties, as promising increased influence to themselves. It was clear that constitutional government had not yet taken root in France; and that neither the excesses of the old monarchy, nor of the revolution had been forgotten.

Defeat of the royalists.

At the elections, the relations of parties were singular. The moderate party and the republicans supported the government: the royalists were everywhere opposed to it. The new electoral act, however, had been so dexterously contrived that the ministerial

[1] 'Dissoudre la seule assemblée,' said Chateaubriand, 'qui depuis 1789 ait manifesté des sentimens purement royalistes, c'est, à mon avis, une étrange manière de sauver la monarchie.'—*La Monarchie selon la Charte. Œuvres*, xviii. 431.

party secured a majority. The new chamber immediately passed another electoral law, founded upon the same principles as the last ordinance, which was constitutionally agreed to by the chamber of peers and the king. The restrictions upon the liberty of the press, and the liberty of the person, were also continued for a year.

CHAP. XV.

Electoral law of 1817.

The royalist ministers were removed, and the government was formed entirely from the moderate liberal party, which commanded a majority in the chamber. By the late electoral law one-fifth of the chamber was to be renewed annually, and the successive elections of 1817 and 1818 increased the strength of the liberal, and even of the democratic party; and was gradually excluding the royalists from the chamber. The firmest friends of the monarchy were losing ground; and were supplanted by the revolutionary and imperialist parties. The moderate ministry of the Duke de Richelieu was broken up, and succeeded by a ministry of more advanced opinions, under General Dessoles. Oblivion of past offences was the main policy of this ministry. The officers of Napoleon were restored to commands in the army; and the magistracy and civil service were filled with adherents of the revolution and the empire. The censorship of the press was removed; and the trial of offences of the press entrusted to juries.

Liberal measures.

The royalists, powerless in the representative chamber, still commanded a majority in the chamber of peers. There they insisted upon a change in the electoral law, which had been the ruin of their party. They were answered by the creation of sixty-three new peers, all of the liberal party, among whom were six of Napoleon's marshals. By one *coup d'état* the

The king opposed to the royalists.

March 8, 1819.

CHAP. XV.

king had overcome the royalists in the legislative body: by another he overthrew them in the hereditary chamber. The reliance of the crown was now placed upon the very parties which had opposed the restoration of the monarchy. The king was pressed by a hard alternative. If he cast in his fortunes with the royalists, he hazarded revolution: if he severed himself from them, he was drifting into the arms of his enemies.

Increasing strength of the democratic party.

The latter danger was aggravated by the elections of 1819, which resulted in the return of a large majority of the democratic party. The king, alarmed by the rapid advances of democracy, was persuaded that another revision of the electoral law was necessary for the security of his throne. As his liberal ministers did not concur in this view, a new ministry was formed under M. Decazes, to carry it into effect. This rupture with the liberal party provoked the most violent attacks of the enfranchised press, and fresh conspiracies against the monarchy. When the excitement caused by this change of policy was at its height, the assassination of the Duke de Berri, produced a sudden reaction in favour of the royalists; and the Duke de Richelieu was restored to office, with the support of that party. Its policy was the revival of the censorship of the press, a continuance of discretionary arrest (in the nature of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act), and a new electoral law. Notwithstanding a violent opposition in the chambers and in the press, and serious disturbances in the streets of Paris, and elsewhere, these three measures were passed. By the electoral law, a new constituency was created, favourable to rank and property; and the king supported the royalist party with all the influence of the crown. Before the

Royalist reaction.

elections, he addressed a lithographed autograph circular to every elector in his realm, advising him to vote for candidates devoted to his throne, and to the charter. The result of the elections could not be doubtful. The new franchise, and a strong reaction in favour of the king, secured the royalists and their allies, the priest party, a large majority. The moderate, or constitutional, party was unable to hold its ground; and a royalist ministry was soon appointed, under M. de Villèle. The State was ever destined to be impelled from one extreme to another.

Royalist ministry. 1821.

The first measure of the new ministry was a law imposing fresh restrictions upon the press, and withdrawing the trial of press offences from juries. It was passed: but the exasperation of the liberal party was extreme. Power had been wrested from their hands; and the policy of royalist reaction had been avowed. There were popular commotions, and some insurrectionary movements in the provinces, which were promptly suppressed. But the worst symptom of the time was the formation of secret societies, in correspondence with the Italian Carbonari.[1] Lafayette, who, thirty years before, had played so active a part in the great revolution, was not yet weary of revolutionary intrigues: but was the chief promoter of these dangerous democratic conspiracies.[2] The extreme parties of the revolution were again in full activity, and moderate constitutional councils, which had been the constant aim of the king, were exposed to the obloquy

[1] 'La carbonarisme, dont l'origine se perd dans la nuit du moyen-âge, comme la franc-maçonnerie, dont il fut, tour à tour, l'allié et l'ennemi, était une sorte de Jacobinisme Italien.'—Lamartine, *Hist de la Rest.* vi. 312.

[2] Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* vii. 26 *et seq.*; Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* vii. 308.

CHAP. XV.

of royalists on one side, and of republicans on the other.

Spanish war.

Successive elections continued to increase the strength of the royalist party. Meanwhile, the death of Napoleon had depressed the hopes of the imperialists; and a diversion had been caused, from the fierce conflict of parties, by the brilliant success of the brief war in Spain. That war was, indeed, a royalist war. It was concerted with the despotic powers at the congress of Verona,[1] and French armies were marched to support the King of Spain against a popular revolution. Such a policy was repugnant to the liberal party in France, and throughout Europe: but military glory has ever rallied the French people round their rulers, whether royal or republican. For a time, the monarchy was strengthened by this success: but the pretensions of the royalists were dangerously encouraged.[2] France had accepted the repressive policy of the Holy Alliance; and her rulers were to become yet more defiant of the principles of the revolution.

Death of Louis XVIII. Sept. 16, 1823.

The policy of Louis XVIII. himself had been one of moderation, clemency, and justice; and at his death, in September 1823, he left France apparently more safe from the war of factions, than at any period of his troubled reign.[3]

[1] Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* vii. 345 *et seq.*

[2] Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* vii. 223.

[3] 'Si la restauration, le plus difficile des gouvernements, n'eut que ce règne, ce fut la faute de son âge, ce ne fut pas celle de sa politique. Il avait en lui le génie flexible, tempéré et négociateur des restaurations.' —Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* vii. 340.

'Au conseil rarement il inclinait pour les partis violens: il savait que dans un pays agité par les révolutions, les termes moyens sont encore ce qui vit le plus long temps.'—Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* x. 381.

CHAP. XV.

Accession of Charles X.

It was a fortunate moment for the commencement of a new reign; and the king's brother, the Comte d'Artois, who succeeded him, as Charles X., had many showy and popular qualities to recommend him to the favour of the French people. His first act was to conciliate the press, by the abolition of the censorship; and the journals proclaimed the inauguration of freedom, and mutual confidence between the king and his people.

His character.

But his popularity was shortlived. With generous sentiments, Charles X. cherished a lofty ideal of his own prerogatives: as leader of the royalist party, in the late reign, he was identified with their principles;[1] and having grown devout, after a youth of gaiety, he was surrounded by priests and Jesuits. The evil influence of the latter determined his policy, and was fatal to his crown. During the late reign, the poverty of the Church had been relieved by increased endowments: the religious feelings of the people had shown signs of revival; and the Church promised, at no distant time, to recover her spiritual influence. But there was still a strong jealousy of the priesthood, and a repugnance to the political domination of the Church.

Priestly influence.

The king continued the royalist ministry in power; and he constituted a priestly *camarilla* his secret councillors, and keepers of his conscience. His palace was made gloomy with incessant prayers and masses: his

[1] Louis XVIII. said to one of his ministers:—'Mon frère est impatient de dévorer mon règne, mais qu'il se souvienne que s'il ne change pas, le sol tremblera sous lui.'—Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* (title-page).

On his deathbed Louis XVIII., warning his brother against the royalists, 'lui peignit, par des mots entrecoupés et faibles, les difficultés de son règne, le moyen d'éviter les écueils qu'une trop grande exaltation des opinions royalistes pouvait produire,' adding, 'Agissez comme je l'ai fait, et vous arriverez à cette fin de paix et de tranquillité.'—Ibid. x. 377.

CHAP. XV.

household was filled with creatures of the Jesuits; and many important offices of state were entrusted to the priest party. Such favour to the ultramontane faction was unpopular in itself; and the priestly policy was disastrous.

Unpopular measures.

The army was offended by a large scheme of superannuation, designed to remove from active service the marshals and generals of the empire. An indemnity of 40,000,000*l.* was granted to the royalist emigrants, whose estates had been confiscated during the revolution. A law of extreme severity was passed against sacrilege. An attempt was made to restore the rights of primogeniture, to which the people were passionately opposed: but it failed, even in the house of peers. A doleful religious jubilee was celebrated throughout France, for six tedious weeks; and Thanin, the narrow ultramontane bishop of Strasburg, was appointed preceptor to the young Duc de Bordeaux.

Discontents.

These measures had provoked the vehement opposition of the press; and their secret authors were scourged with merciless invectives. It was not from priestly rulers that tolerance of free discussion could be expected; and they retaliated by proposing a severe law against the press. Such was its severity, that, resisted by intelligent men of all parties, it was defeated in its most stringent provisions; and served but to increase the enmity of the journalists, and the intellectual classes. The ill-feeling caused by the reactionary policy of the cabinet and the *camarilla* was yet rife, when the king reviewed the national guard of Paris, and expression was given to the popular discontents by some soldiers of the tenth legion. Cries were raised of '*A bas les ministres! à bas les Jésuites!*' It

was a breach of discipline, demanding prompt repression and punishment: but the king was advised, by his dangerous councillors, to assert his dignity by a signal mark of his displeasure. He, at once, disbanded the entire national guard. If this severity was necessary, prudence would have suggested the disarming of the force: yet 40,000 men, offended and resentful, were left in possession of their arms and accoutrements.

Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies. 1827.

But the incapacity of the priestly statesmen was soon to be shown upon more momentous occasions. Their majority in the chambers had been shaken by their recent policy; and they found themselves exposed to bold criticism, and often to serious resistance. The country was far more hostile to the government than the chambers: yet a dissolution was determined upon, at this critical time. No sooner was the session closed than the censorship of the press was restored by a royal ordinance. In November, no less than seventy-six peers were created; and the chamber of deputies was dissolved. The impolicy of the dissolution was soon made evident. Even the higher class of electors, who had been created to secure the success of royalist candidates, turned against the court. There were riots in Paris, where liberal candidates were returned, in the midst of dangerous popular excitement; and the temper of the leaders of the liberal party threatened a determined onslaught upon the government.

June 1827.

Liberal measures of the new chambers.

The ministry of de Villèle yielded to the coming storm, and withdrew before the meeting of the chambers: but did not escape censure from the chamber of deputies. The ministry of de Martignac had been constituted to appease the anger of the liberal party: but, being obnoxious to the king and his *camarilla*,

CHAP. XV.

it was to be dismissed when it had served its purpose. The new chambers showed a reforming spirit, repugnant to the policy of the court. They restrained the army of government officers from voting at elections, and they restored the liberty of the press. And, in order to satisfy the prevailing sentiment against the Jesuits, the king was prevailed upon to issue ordinances suppressing schools under their management, and limiting the number of students for holy orders. This ministry having neither the confidence of the king, nor of the chambers, was dismissed, and was succeeded by the famous royalist administration of the Prince de Polignac.

The Polignac ministry. August 1829.

This ill-omened minister, with many eminent qualities, was in statesmanship little better than a priest: his policy was that of a past age. He regarded the prerogatives of the crown as sacred, and above all laws and constitutions; and freedom of worship as 'an outrage against the altar of the true God.'[1] Such a minister was dear to the inmost hearts of the Jesuits: but to the French people, just recovering from the wild license of the revolution, his nomination was a defiance. The new ministers were everywhere denounced. The press foretold the downfall of the monarchy: Guizot and Thiers deplored the blindness and infatuation of the king: Lafayette organised the political societies; and made a tour of agitation in the south of France.[2]

Want of confidence in the Polignac ministry.

In March 1830, while this popular excitement continued, the chambers were opened; and the deputies, in their address to the king, conveyed, in measured

[1] Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* viii. 329.

[2] 'La contre-révolution pleine et entière arrive avec M. de Polignac: alors le sol a tremblé sous les pas de Charles X., pour nous servir de la prophétique expression de son frère.'—Capefigue, *Hist. de la Rest.* x. 394.

CHAP XV

and respectful terms, their want of confidence in the Polignac ministry. The king resented this address as an assault upon his prerogative. Denying the right of the chamber to advise him in the choice of his own ministry, he would not allow the Prince de Polignac to resign: but prepared for a contest with his antagonists. He replied to the obnoxious address in language which bespoke his determination; and on the following day the chambers were prorogued, before any of the business of the session had been transacted. The breach between the king and his parliament was now complete. That it was full of danger to the monarchy, none but the blindest councillors could fail to see; and the infatuation of the high-prerogative faction precipitated the impending crisis. Prosecutions were commenced against several newspapers, which increased the exasperation of the popular party: while the royalist journals openly exhorted the king to exercise his prerogatives for the defeat of disloyal factions.

March 2, 1830.

Another dissolution. May 16, 1830.

Notwithstanding the unmistakable public sentiment against the policy of the court, ministers resolved upon another appeal to the people; and in May the chambers were dissolved. As every one but ministers had foreseen, an overwhelming liberal majority was returned. The verdict of the country was unequivocally pronounced against the reactionary policy of the king and his advisers: but they resolved to brave it. The hostile chamber of deputies could not be safely encountered, and it was dissolved before the day appointed for its meeting. So far, the king, though taking a violent and dangerous course, was acting within his prerogative. But how was another hostile majority to be averted? By a new electoral law, under the sole

Coup d'état. July 25, 1830.

CHAP. XV.

authority of a royal ordinance! This illegal ordinance was accompanied by another, prohibiting the publication of any newspapers, without a licence from the government. The misguided king had been advised that the fourteenth article of the charter[1] permitted such an exercise of prerogative; and it was affirmed that Louis XVIII. had issued similar ordinances without objection. But it was forgotten that the king was now repealing express acts of the legislature, which had been passed since the ordinances of the late reign; and that he was unquestionably exceeding the powers of a constitutional sovereign.[2] His contest with the popular party had already been fraught with danger: but, by this plain violation of the law, he gave his adversaries an overwhelming advantage, by which they were not slow to profit.

Want of preparation.

The king had committed himself to a violation of the law and the constitution: he had offended the press, the liberal party, and the people. His policy was that of force. He had taken his stand upon his own prerogatives, and should have been prepared to defend the dangerous position he had assumed. Yet such was the blind confidence of his advisers in the royal authority, and such their ignorance of popular sentiments, that, while provoking insurrection, they had taken no measures to repress it. Paris was the great centre of political movements, the source of all former revolutions: it had a turbulent populace, a discontented *bourgeoisie*, a disbanded, but not disarmed,

[1] 'Le roi . . . fait les règlemens et les ordonnances nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois, et la sûreté de l'état.'

[2] Even the Duke of Wellington, one of the best friends of the Bourbons, and certainly no unfriendly critic of prerogative, admitted 'that the throne of Charles X. had fallen from his own acts.'

national guard, two hundred thousand men trained to arms, and bold leaders versed in the tactics of street-fighting. What were the forces prepared to resist these formidable elements of disorder? In Paris there were about ten thousand troops, of all arms, of whom 4,600 were of the royal guard, and twelve guns,[1] with six rounds of grapeshot. No attempt had been made to strengthen the garrison, from other stations, and Marshal Marmont, who had just been appointed to the command, being ignorant of the impending *coup d'état*, had made no preparations for the defence of the capital. His scanty force was ill supplied with food and ammunition, and without the means of securing immediate reinforcements, or supplies.

Insurrection in Paris. July 26, 1830.

Such was the condition of Paris when the ordinances were published. The leading opposition journalists, advised that they were illegal, refused obedience to the law for the regulation of the press, and published a protest, in which they proclaimed their determination to resist it. This protest was signed by forty-four journalists, among whom was Thiers. Attempts to seize the refractory journals, and close their offices, provoked disorders in the streets. While a meeting of thirty liberal deputies, including Casimir Périer, Dupin, and Guizot, were deliberating upon the perilous situation of affairs, a general insurrection had broken out in Paris: barricades were erected: the people were arming themselves with pikes and seizing arms: the disbanded national guards were in the midst of them, not ranged on the side of order, but in arms against the handful of troops, which had been left to defend the capital, and

July 27.

[1] Four of these were at the Invalides, and were not brought into action.

CHAP. XV.

the monarchy. This small force, half-starved, thirsty, ill provided with ammunition, and wearied with excessive duty, was wholly unequal to cope with the overwhelming masses by which it was surrounded: but it succeeded in carrying several of the barricades, and other strong positions of the insurgents. At length, however, the troops of the line, who had been left for hours in conversation with the people, were seduced from their allegiance, and offered no further resistance to the insurgents. The royal guard continued faithful to the last: but the insurgents had gained possession
July 29. of the Hôtel de Ville, the Louvre, and the Tuileries: the tricolor flag was flying from the towers of Notre-Dame; and the insurrection was everywhere triumphant.

The liberal leaders.

Meanwhile, the liberal leaders, who had been in frequent consultation during these events, were encouraged, by the progress of the insurrection, to place themselves at the head of the movement. Guizot, Thiers, and Villemain shrank from taking part in the insurrection: but Lafitte, Lafayette, and others resolved to make common cause with the insurgents. Lafayette accepted the command of the insurrectionary forces, and established himself at the Hôtel de Ville, at the head of a provisional government; while other leaders were busy with plans for giving a safe direction to the successful movement.

The king deposed. July 30, 1830

When the king was fully informed of the state of the capital, he revoked the obnoxious ordinances, and dismissed his ministers: but it was too late; and a proclamation was issued, from the Hôtel de Ville, declaring that Charles X. had ceased to reign in France. On the following day he abdicated in favour of his

CHAP. XV.

Abdication of Charles X. August 1.

grandson, the Duc de Bordeaux.[1] His abdication was accepted: but the succession was repudiated by all but the defeated royalists; and the unfortunate monarch, anxious to avert the shedding of more blood in his cause, retreated to Cherbourg, where he embarked for Edinburgh. There was no attempt to arrest his flight; and the revolution was spared the embarrassment of determining the fate of a captive king. The examples of English history were followed. One king had been brought to the scaffold: another was suffered to escape.

The throne was vacant; and how should France be governed? The republicans had been the authors of the revolution, had fought in the streets, and had conquered: Lafayette, their leader, was in command of their armed multitudes,—a revolutionist of more than forty years' experience, and ambitious of being the founder and dictator of a new republic. The empire had multitudes of friends: but the death of Napoleon, and the youth of the King of Rome, discouraged any attempts in favour of that dynasty. But there were wiser heads at work upon another scheme. They had taken no part in the insurrection: they had incurred no danger: all the fighting had been done for them; but they now sat in conclave to distribute the fruits of the victory. Lafitte, the banker, Guizot, Thiers, and other journalists were determined, if possible, to rescue

[1] 'Telle fut la fin de la restauration,—gouvernement le plus difficile de tous ceux que l'histoire retrace en leçon aux hommes, et où les fautes sont les plus inévitables, même aux plus droites intentions, parce que les choses abolies par la révolution, et personnifiées dans les dynasties proscrites, s'efforcent, par nature, de revenir avec ces dynasties, et portent outrage aux choses nouvelles.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* viii. 441.

CHAP. XV.

France from another period of revolution, and mob-rule. Lafitte had long maintained the closest relations of confidence with the Duke of Orleans; and during the last two reigns had assumed the lead of the Orleanist party, or coterie. The chief journalists, being men of political moderation, were either associated with that party, or friendly to the objects which it had in view. With rare address and management, this little knot of clever men issued a proclamation recommending the Duke of Orleans to the vacant throne. They overcame the irresolution of that prince himself: they prevailed upon the deputies and peers then in Paris to offer him the crown: they extolled the claims of their candidate in all their newspapers: they outwitted Lafayette and the republicans; and obtained their reluctant acquiescence in 'a throne surrounded by republican institutions.'[1]

Louis Philippe king of the French. August 7 and 9.

In a few days every difficulty was surmounted: a new constitution was prepared: Louis Philippe accepted the crown, as 'King of the French,' and swore to observe the constitution. The new settlement of the crown resembled that of England in 1689. The essential laws of the State were little changed: the charter of Louis XVIII., with the exception of the 14th article, which had caused the fatal errors of the late reign, was generally maintained: the tricolor flag was restored; and the trial of press offences was once more remitted to juries.

Influence of the revolution on foreign States.

The revolution of July had changed the dynasty of France, and founded a constitutional monarchy. It was the work of few hands: it was no national movement:

[1] Of these proceedings, it is cleverly said by Mr. Reeve, 'The crown was disposed of by a hand-bill, and the dynasty enthroned by a placard.' —*Royal and Republican France*, ii. 52.

but it was accepted by the nation, as the overthrow of royalist principles repugnant to the constitution. In other European States it encouraged a revolt against the absolutist policy which had been maintained since the peace of 1815. The vague declarations of the Holy Alliance[1] acquired significance at Troppau, at Laybach, and at Verona. The great powers,—dreading a revival of the revolutionary spirit, which had shaken thrones, and disturbed the peace of nations,—had combined to repress popular movements in Naples, in Piedmont, and in Spain; and they had exercised their influence everywhere in discouraging democracy. Greece alone had been aided in her struggle for freedom and independence, by the liberal policy of England, and the religious sympathies of Russia.

The revolution of July suddenly frustrated the repressive policy of the great powers, and was the commencement of a new era in the liberties of Europe. It gave an impulse to the revolution in Belgium: to the iusurrection in Poland; to the democratic constitutions of Switzerland: to political reforms in several of the States of Germany; and to parliamentary reform in England. Its influence was felt in Italy, in Spain, and Portugal: in Hungary, and in the Sclavonic provinces of Austria. And, even beyond the bounds of Europe, it reached from Egypt and Syria, in the east, to South America, in the west. The period of reaction was now closed, to be succeeded by the progressive development of constitutional freedom.

[1] On September 26, 1815, the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia had entered into a convention, known as the Holy Alliance, to give effect to the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace: but its true objects were subsequently disclosed.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCE (*continued*).

REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIPPE—STATE OF PARTIES—RELIANCE UPON THE MIDDLE CLASSES—INSURRECTIONS—LOUIS NAPOLEON AT STRASBURG AND BOULOGNE—REFORM AGITATION—THE SPANISH MARRIAGES—THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE—EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 UPON THE DIFFERENT STATES OF EUROPE.

CHAP. XVI.

The king's difficulties.

UPON Louis Philippe had devolved the difficult experiment of a constitutional government,—to be maintained against royalists on one side, and republicans and Bonapartists on the other: with rival parties supporting his throne, and hostile factions plotting to subvert it: with all the principles of the revolution in full activity; and with few of the safeguards of an established monarchy.[1] Journalists had been the king-makers of this crisis, and were rewarded by a considerable share of power under the new dynasty. But Louis Philippe, whose chief characteristics were prudence and caution, was con-

[1] The following are the principal works relating to the reign of Louis Philippe. They differ essentially in principles, aims, and party views: but they agree generally in their narratives of the chief events of the period:—Louis Blanc, *Hist. de Dix Ans*, 1830–1840; and *Hist. de Huit Ans*, 1840–1848; Capefigue, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*; Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848; Garnier Pagès, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848; Duvernier de Hauranne, *Hist. du Gouv. Parl.* 1814–1848; Regnault, *Hist. de Huit Ans*, 1840–1848, and *Hist. du Gouvernement Provisoire*; Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. de la Chute de Louis Philippe, &c.*; Guizot, *Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire de mon Temps*; D'Haussonville, *Hist. de la Politique extérieure du Gouvernement Français*, 1830–1848; Beaumont-Vassy, *Hist. de mon Temps*; Amédée Boudin, *Hist. de Louis Philippe*.

strained to form a ministry of such social pretensions as befitted a great monarchy, and commanded the confidence of the aristocracy, as well as of the democracy. Accordingly his first ministry was formed under the Duc de Broglie: but Guizot was Minister of the Interior; and Lafitte, Dupin, and Casimir Périer were not forgotten, but had seats in the cabinet, without office. The democratic party, however, were greatly dissatisfied with the share of power which had fallen to their lot: the republicans were smarting under their recent discomfiture; and the disorganisation of French society promised little political repose to the citizen king. A revolution had raised him to the throne: revolutionary sentiments had been revived by the triumph of the barricades; and the problem to be solved was how a constitutional king should govern a democracy, which he was obliged at once to propitiate and to restrain.[1]

State of parties:

All the parties of the late reigns were as irreconcilable as ever: royalists, Bonapartists, doctrinaires, liberals, republicans, and the now dominant party of the Orleanists. But the royalists were no longer supporters of the throne. They had been devoted adherents of the restored monarchy, which represented, in their eyes, the sacred principle of hereditary right, as well as a time-honoured institution, to which they and their ancestors had owed allegiance. But now they

[1] 'Rien n'était vrai dans cette royauté, qu'un trône et un peuple également frustrés. Tôt ou tard, il devait s'anéantir, comme il avait surgi, dans un souffle.'—Lamartine, *Hist de la Rest.* (*Préambule*, 9).

'Entre l'hérédité, qu'il avait bannie, et l'élection nationale, qu'il avait éludée, que pouvait-il faire? Manœuvrer, négocier, atermoyer, capter, corrompre: gouvernement à deux visages, dont aucun ne disait une vérité.' Ibid.

CHAP. XVI.

were the bitterest enemies of the sovereign, who had usurped the throne of their legitimate king.

Reliance upon the middle classes.

The main reliance of Louis Philippe was upon the large society of the middle classes who dreaded democracy, on one side, and prerogative, on the other. And it became the policy of his reign to secure the adhesion of these classes, by favouring enterprise and industry: by placing the chief power of the State in their hands: by lavishing upon them patronage and profits; and by an extended system of political corruption. Unable to rely upon the traditions or sentiments of his people, he was driven to appeal to their interests.[1] The *bourgeoisie* were naturally attracted to the sober rule of the citizen king; and their relations with their workmen, at this time, further ensured their adhesion. After the revolution of 1830, the principles of socialism, founded upon St. Simon, were more widely adopted by the working classes of Paris. Their creed was shortly this: that they should regulate the prices of their own labour, and distribute its products among themselves: that the inheritance of property should be forbidden:

Socialism. 1831.

[1] Of these classes Louis Blanc says: 'Comme classe militante, la bourgeoisie a bien mérité de la civilisation. Elle possède d'ailleurs des qualités: l'amour du travail, le respect de la loi, la haine du fanatisme, et de ses emportements, des mœurs douces, l'économie, ce qui compose le fond des vertus domestiques. Mais elle manque en général de profondeur dans les idées, d'élévation dans les sentiments; et elle n'a aucune vaste croyance.'—*Hist. de Dix Ans*, v. 332.

According to Guizot: 'Et lorsqu'elles ont été amenées, en 1830, à fonder une monarchie nouvelle, les classes moyennes ont porté, dans cette difficile entreprise, un esprit de justice et de sincérité politique dont aucun événement ne peut leur enlever l'honneur. En dépit de toutes les passions, de tous les périls qui les assaillaient, en dépit de leurs propres passions, elles ont sérieusement voulu et pratiqué l'ordre constitutionnel; elles ont effectivement respecté et maintenu, au dedans et pour tout, la liberté, à la fois légale et vive, au dehors et partout, la paix, la paix active et prospère.'—*De la Démocratie en France*, 44.

that marriage should be abolished; and that the community should take the place of families.[1]

Contrast between 1789 and 1830.

One hopeful contrast is to be observed between the spirit of the revolution of 1789 and that of 1830. In the first, a ferocious thirst for blood disgraced it in the eyes of Europe and of history: in the second, no blood was shed save in the streets of Paris, during the three days of July. Prince de Polignac, and some of his colleagues, had not escaped, like their royal master; and were brought to trial for their crimes against the law. Their trial was watched by the people, with threatening demonstrations. In 1793 their lives would have been sacrificed to the popular fury: but now they were calmly judged by the chamber of peers. They had violated the law, and were condemned: but their crimes were punished by transportation and imprisonment, not by death.

Summary of events. November 10, 1830.

The troubled course of Louis Philippe's reign may be briefly followed. The Duc de Broglie's ministry soon fell, and was succeeded by that of Lafitte, the king-maker. It was their policy to prevent the revolution from drifting into anarchy; and they had the courage to dismiss the republican chief Lafayette from the command of the national guard. This ministry soon gave place to another under Casimir Périer. To gratify the popular party, the elective franchise was now extended, and the electors were at once increased from 99,000 to 168,000, and in the course of the next ten years to 224,000.[2] Ministers had pledged themselves to govern by the chambers alone; and the first election

March 13, 1831.

Elective franchise.

[1] See Louis Blanc, *Hist. de Dix Ans*, ii. 268.

[2] Speech of Guizot on electoral reform, February 10, 1842.

CHAP. XVI.

under the new law, left them in a minority of one, in the chamber of deputies.

Abolition of hereditary peerage.

The revolution was again asserting its influence, and the first sacrifice made to it was the hereditary peerage. An overwhelming majority of the deputies were bent upon its abolition, and the luckless upper chamber was coerced, by the creation of thirty-six life peers, into the surrender of its privileges. The nobles had lost their territorial power and social influence: the political ascendency of the middle classes had been secured by the electoral law; and the fall of the hereditary peers was demanded at once by the *bourgeoisie*, and by the democracy. Henceforth the upper chamber consisted of life peers only, created by the crown. The general policy of an hereditary chamber, as part of a constitutional monarchy, was little concerned in this determination. Such was the political and social state of France, that no upper chamber, whether hereditary or not, could withstand the popular influences; and the hereditary principle excited too much jealousy, to be maintained against the revolutionary sentiments which were still in the ascendent. The hereditary peers had done nothing to save Napoleon or Charles X., and they could do no more for Louis Philippe. They had neither supported the crown against the people, nor upheld liberty against prerogative: they had no will or policy of their own, but had been overborne, again and again, by large creations, and made obedient to the dictates of the king's ministers, and the chamber of deputies.

Discontents and insurrections.

The king was now left face to face with the revolution, to guide it as best he could; and he was encompassed by the gravest difficulties. The working classes were suffering and discontented: trade was injured by

the shock which commercial confidence had sustained from the late revolution: there were fierce contests between workmen and their employers, concerning the rate of wages: the disorders of society were multiplied, and the passions of political parties were not appeased. The dangerous spirit of the working classes was shown in the insurrection at Lyons. The troops were driven out, and the city fell into the hands of the insurgents. Nor was it reduced to submission until the arrival of Marshal Soult, a fortnight afterwards, at the head of forty thousand men. There were plots and conspiracies on every side. The republicans were plotting, and fomenting disorders at Paris, Strasburg, and Grenoble. The adventurous Duchesse de Berri was vainly raising the Bourbon standard at Marseilles and in La Vendée.

November 20, 1831.

Dec. 3.

But it was in the streets of Paris that the government was threatened with its greatest danger. A rising had long been projected by the restless democrats of that irrepressible city; and at the funeral of the popular general Lamarque, they assembled in vast crowds, and attempted another revolution. For a time it seemed as if the three days of July, 1830, were about to be repeated; and Lafitte, Lafayette, and other leaders of that time were watching the course of events, and preparing to take the lead again, if the insurrection should prove successful. Three-fourths of the city fell at once into the hands of the insurgents, and their rapid advance was threatening the Tuileries: but now the government were amply prepared. Marshal Soult was in command, with sixty thousand regular troops and twenty thousand national guards,[1] and one hundred and twenty pieces of

Insurrection in Paris.

June 5, 1832.

[1] About 30,000 of this force failed to appear to the muster.

CHAP. XVI.

artillery. With this large force, he stormed all the barricades and other positions of the insurgents. The insurrection was crushed; and the monarchy was saved.

The king obliged to exceed the law.

But this formidable insurrection was the turning-point in the reign of Louis Philippe. It had been at once his policy, and his own earnest wish, to govern France according to the constitution, which he had sworn to observe. But the people of his capital had defied the law, and appealed to arms. The normal reign of law was for a time superseded by force; and for the first time in his reign he was constrained to

June 6, 1832.

transgress the bounds of the constitution. While Paris was still in arms against him, the printing presses of the republican journals were seized and broken up, to prevent them from aiding the insurgents; and when the insurrection was quelled, Paris was declared in a state of siege. This measure placed the capital under martial law; and all offences connected with the late rising,—even offences of the press,—were withdrawn from trial by jury, and entrusted to courts martial. Hundreds of persons were arrested without being brought to trial, and the journals were pursued with unrelenting severity. These exceptional measures were a painful anomaly in the reign of a constitutional king; and they united against him the republicans, the royalists, and the Bonapartists. He could not expect popular support in so rigorous a policy: but one incident of the insurrection went far to rally around him the middle classes of France. The workmen had taken the chief part in the insurrection: the insurgents had fought under red banners, and many had worn the red caps of the revolution. These dread emblems of the 'red republic'

were a terror to industrious and thriving citizens: they recalled memories of mob-rule and the guillotine: they threatened ruin to trade, and danger to life and property. Louis Philippe had, at least, saved them from these calamities; and a large, but not demonstrative, 'party of order' was forming itself, upon whom every successive government has since relied, in resisting revolution. Notwithstanding the rancour of parties, so complete a victory over insurrection, at Lyons, in La Vendée, and in Paris, secured the confidence of France and of Europe, in the stability of the government. This confidence Marshal Soult's ministry increased by the success of the armed intervention of France, in concert with England, in the affairs of Belgium.

Marshal Soult's ministry.

Casimir Périer had died before the late events; and in October was succeeded, as premier, by Marshal Soult, who presided over a doctrinaire cabinet, including the now celebrated names of Thiers and Guizot. That a marshal of the empire should be first minister of the citizen king, pointed to the unwelcome truth that the revolution was still to be combated by the sword. The first act of the new minister was the creation of sixty-three peers, in order to ensure the cordial support of the upper chamber. Whether the peerage was hereditary, or for life, constant creations seemed to be the law of its existence.

Relation of the king to parties.

Louis Philippe was in open war with the revolution: he was estranged from the legitimists; and he relied upon the middle classes, who dreaded anarchy, and upon the Bonapartists, whose leaders he trusted, and whose sentiments he often took occasion to flatter. The adherence of the latter was further favoured by the death

CHAP. XVI.

July 22, 1832.

of Napoleon's heir, the Duc de Reichstadt. His policy was therefore marked out for him. It was that of repressing the revolution on one side, and of conciliating the electors and the chamber of deputies on the other.

Repressive measures resisted.

One of the most formidable instruments of the revolutionary party was found in the secret societies; and a law was proposed for their repression. Though vigorously opposed in the chamber of deputies by Odillon Barrot, Garnier Pagès, and other members of the liberal party, it was passed by large majorities. The revolutionists, however, determined to resist its execution; and they succeeded in exciting so much popular feeling against it, that insurrections broke out at

April 1834.

Lyons, St. Etienne, and Paris: but they were promptly suppressed.[1] These strong measures increased the resentment of the revolutionists: but they effectually discouraged further insurrections. That they were approved by the electoral body, and the moderate, or *juste milieu*, party, was proved by the overwhelming majority with which they supported the government, at the dissolution.[2]

Corruption.

It was to this class and this party that Louis Philippe continued to look, for confidence and political support; and upon a limited constituency he was able to bring to bear the influence of a vast government expenditure and patronage. He could not rule by a military despotism: he could not rely upon the loyalty of the people; and he was driven to the use of corrupt influences, over the classes who alone were disposed to

[1] Lafayette, who had been one of the most active promoters of insurrections, died on the 20th of May.

[2] There had been ministerial changes: but the policy of the government was unchanged.

support constitutional government. The policy of William III., of England, was now to be repeated in France, and parliaments and electors were to be swayed by the influence of the crown.[1]

Attempts to assassinate the king. July 28, 1835.

The day of armed insurrections had passed for awhile: it was now the turn of the assassin. In July 1835, the king narrowly escaped from the infernal machine of Fieschi; and on several other occasions[2] his life was sought by the hands of assassins. His personal danger was great: but his throne was strengthened by acts which aroused the indignation of all good citizens of every party. The crime of Fieschi, however, provoked new measures of repression, especially against the press, which further inflamed the hatred of the revolutionary party.

Ministry of Thiers. 1836.

In the conflict of great principles and parties, ordinary changes of ministry require no special notice: but the formation of an administration under Thiers, in February 1836, affected the future policy of the State. There had long been a divergence of opinion between that statesman and his distinguished colleague, Guizot, increased by their rivalry, and by the restless ambition of the former. The policy and instincts of Guizot were conservative: the sympathies of Thiers were with the revolution, controlled by force, as in the reign of Napoleon. Hence his ministry was of a somewhat democratic character; and Guizot found no place in it.

[1] There were 140,000 civil offices, besides commissions in the army. For evidences of corruption during this reign, see Cassagnac, i. 97; Regnault, iii. 47, &c.; Capefigue, ix. 335; Louis Blanc, *Dix Ans*, v. 329.

[2] Attempt of Alibaud, June 25, 1836: plot of Hubert, December, 1837: attempt of Darmès, October 17, 1840: attempt of Quenisset, upon the lives of the Duc d'Orléans and the Duc de Nemours, September 13, 1841: attempt of Lecompte, April 16, 1846.

CHAP. XVI.

In a few months he fell, and was succeeded by Count Molé, at the head of a conservative and doctrinaire ministry, which included Guizot.

Louis Napoleon at Strasburg. October 30, 1836.

At this time, the country was suddenly startled by Louis Napoleon's attempt to seduce the garrison at Strasburg. Its failure, indeed, was as sudden as the enterprise: but the defection of the artillery, and the extraordinary excitement caused by the familiar cry of 'Vive l'Empereur!' betrayed the sentiments which still clung to the memory of Napoleon. Louis Napoleon was banished to America: but, so strong was the popular sympathy with his cause, that, in defiance of conclusive evidence, his accomplices were all acquitted.[1]

Conflict of parties.

With many changes, the ministry of Count Molé continued for five years, sorely embarrassed by the strife of parties. In 1838, a dissolution secured a small majority in the chamber of deputies; and fifty-three new peers were created, to ensure the support of the upper house. This ministry, however, could not long hold its ground; and the insurrection of Barbès again brought Marshal Soult to the head of affairs.

Soult's second ministry. May 1839.

Insurrection of Barbès. 1839.

It was not until May, 1839, that the latent spirit of the revolution again broke out in insurrection. This insurrection had long been planned by Barbès, Blanqui, and several other members of a secret society, which first called itself *La Société des Familles*, and afterwards the *Société des Saisons*. The insurrection was of so limited a character, and was so promptly repressed, that its chief interest lies in the objects for which it was planned, and the principles of its promoters. It was intended as the first step in a social revolution: its objects were, not so much to resist the government, as

[1] Jerrold, *Life of Napoleon III.* B. iii. ch. 7–14.

to overthrow the existing order of society. The conspirators, like their predecessors in the revolutionary struggles of France, maintained the popular doctrines of equality, and the sovereignty of the people. But these formed a small part of their creed. Like all republicans, they denounced aristocrats: but who were aristocrats? 'All monied men, bankers, contractors, monopolists, great proprietors, stock-jobbers.' Such men governed the people by force; and who were the people? The people were all citizens who worked,—the *prolétaires*. They were treated by the rich as slaves and negroes. Their tyrants had silenced the press, and had repressed societies. They governed by force, and by force they must be overcome. The social revolution would humble the rich, and the State and society would henceforth be governed by working men.[1]

Such were the socialist principles of this movement. They had already taken deep root among the revolutionary members of the working classes, and their growth was destined to bring serious calamities upon the country. Who can wonder that the citizens of France, against whom the movement was directed, should earnestly support the government in the maintenance of order, and in the repression of the red republic? The electoral body, and all political parties, in both chambers, condemned these dangerous principles, however much they differed upon other questions affecting the policy of the State.

Parliamentary parties.

While Soult was minister, Thiers, now leader of the parties of the *gauche* and *gauche centre*, was aiming at

[1] *Histoire des Sociétés Sécrètes*, ii. 19; Louis Blanc, *Hist. de Dix Ans*, v. 410 *et seq.*; Capefigue, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, x. 53.

CHAP XVI.

an early restoration to power, with a liberal ministry. The contest of rival statesmen and parliamentary parties was like that of whigs and tories in England. They advocated, in different degrees, the liberty of the press and of associations, the extension of the franchise, and economy in the public establishments: but they were all faithful to the monarchy, and to the constitution of France. They were struggling for power among themselves, under Louis Philippe: but outside the chambers, republicans and Bonapartists were ever plotting the overthrow of the monarchy, and profiting by the strifes of the parliamentary parties.

Agitation for reform.

In what manner momentous consequences followed the comparatively trivial contentions of parliamentary parties, may be briefly told. In 1839, the opposition, led by Thiers and Odillon Barrot, commenced a movement in favour of the extension of the suffrage, or parliamentary reform. At the same time, they urged the responsibility of ministers to the representative chamber. Both were natural and proper subjects, to be advanced by a parliamentary opposition. But the king, who was throughout his reign the chief of his own cabinet, had been growing more and more conservative. His fierce conflicts with the revolutionists, and the frequent attempts upon his life, had naturally led him to recoil from changes which might strengthen the forces of revolution. The middle-class electors had supported his throne, and helped him to repress anarchy. His natural caution and his increasing age, confirmed his unwillingness to entrust power to untried hands. Hence, he feared an extension of the suffrage as the first step in the course of revolution: while he resisted the full responsibility of ministers to the chambers, as

an infringement of his sovereign rights. Like George III. of England, he was slow to admit limitations upon his prerogative of choosing ministers, and directing their policy. His confidence was placed in Soult, Guizot, and the conservative party; and their resistance to constitutional changes gravely affected the political prospects and ultimate fate of the monarchy.

Ministry of Thiers. February 23, 1840.

Upon the fall of Soult's second ministry, Thiers, the leader of the opposition, was once more restored to power. He conciliated the revolutionary party by a further amnesty, by consecrating a sepulchre for those who fell in the glorious days of July, and by raising a monument to their memory, in the Place de la Bastille. The statue of Napoleon had already been restored to its place on the column of the Place Vendôme; and now he gratified the Bonapartists, by the removal of the remains of their idol from St. Helena to the Invalides. In celebrating these events, he delighted the multitude by fêtes and pageantry. But the popular excitement showed the undying force of parties. The revolution and the empire still had their devoted adherents, and their old sympathies were revived.

Louis Napoleon at Boulogne.

Louis Napoleon, having returned to Europe from his banishment across the Atlantic, had since been active in reviving the hopes of his party. His work, 'Les Idées Napoléoniennes,' presented the policy of the Emperor in its most attractive aspects; and friendly newspapers dwelt upon the glories of the empire, and the freedom and happiness of France under its beneficent influence. Too confident in the strength of his party, and impelled by a fatalism, which had taken possession of him, he resolved upon another desperate enterprise. Without awaiting the arrival of the ashes

CHAP. XVI.

August 6, 1840.

of Napoleon in France, and the enthusiasm of such an occasion, he made his memorable descent upon Boulogne. The incidents of this adventure and its failure were covered with ridicule: but his proclamation appealed to the sentiments of the French people. Glory and freedom were his watchwords; and he trusted to a response from republicans and Bonapartists alike. Condemned to imprisonment for life in the castle of Ham, his visions of empire were as clear as ever; and in the solitude of his prison he prepared himself, by patient study and contemplation, for his great destiny. His prison doors had not long closed upon him, when the enthusiastic cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' which hailed the obsequies of Napoleon, at the Invalides, gave fresh encouragement to his aspirations.[1]

December 15, 1840.

Sudden fall of Thiers.

The flattery which Thiers had offered to republicans on one side, and to Bonapartists on the other, had not been without risk to the throne of Louis Philippe. Meanwhile, the professions of the leader of the opposition were not realised by the responsible minister, and the liberals murmured at his shortcomings. But his fall came suddenly, from an unexpected quarter. It was not from the king, nor from the chambers, nor from the streets of Paris, that a blow was struck at his power: but from the cabinet in London. The ignominious failure of his diplomacy in the affairs of Turkey and Egypt: the isolation of France from the other powers of Europe: the brilliant exploits of the English fleet on the coast of Syria: the evasion of the French squadron from the scene of those achievements, in which it had no part to play; and war angrily threatened, but not declared,—were humiliations which no minister could survive.

[1] Jerrold, *Life of Napoleon III.* vol. ii. B. iv. v.

Power was restored to the conservative party. The veteran Soult was, for the third time, premier, and Guizot became minister for foreign affairs. Henceforth, the councils of the State were directed mainly by the latter;[1] and the conservative policy of the king was maintained throughout the remainder of his reign.

Soult's third ministry. October 29, 1840.

One measure demands special notice. Thiers had proposed the fortification of Paris; and this scheme was now vigorously carried out by Soult. It had been recommended for defence against foreign invaders: but the detached forts were no less designed to command the streets of Paris. This object was but too manifest to the revolutionists, and they denounced the scheme as another menace to the liberties of the people.

Fortifications of Paris.

At this time France was prosperous: but its expenditure was excessive: and its people were heavily taxed. The multiplication of offices and contracts continued to afford to the government vast influence over the chambers and the electoral body. In the chamber of deputies there were one hundred and thirty placemen: in the country there were one hundred and thirty thousand offices at the disposal of the executive.[2] The wealth of the country was constantly increasing: the land was laboriously cultivated by the peasant proprietors:[3] commerce and manufactures were flourishing; and railways were opening up fresh fields of enterprise and industry. Merchants, traders, and the middle classes generally, were satisfied with a government to which they owed

Discontents of the working classes.

[1] He did not become president of the council, or premier, until September 1847.

[2] De Carné, *Etudes sur l'hist. du Gouv. repr.* 1789–1848, ii. 238, 280, 321.

[3] At this time there were 10,860,000 separate properties in land; supposed to belong to about 6,000,000 proprietors.—*Statistiques de la France* vii. 90; Regnault, *Hist. de Huit Ans de Louis Philippe*, ii. 276.

CHAP. XVI.

so much. But the *ouvriers* were still discontented: they were in perpetual conflict with their employers, and sometimes in open revolt: republican and socialist doctrines were gaining ground amongst them; and they scowled with sullen aversion upon the rule of the *bourgeoisie*. They denounced its corruption, its selfishness, its treachery to the popular cause, and its reckless extravagance. Above them was a large class, excluded from the narrow franchise, who demanded admission to the privileges of the constitution. Nothing short of universal suffrage would meet the political aims of the *ouvriers*: but they espoused the cause of parliamentary reform, as an assault upon the unpopular chamber of deputies. They aimed at social revolution: but they were not the less ready to strike an immediate blow against the dominion of their masters in the chambers, and in the government of the State.

Electoral reform. 1840.

Such being the political and social condition of France, electoral reform became the foremost question of the time. During the ministry of Thiers, an active agitation had been organised: reform banquets had been celebrated in various parts of the country: eloquent addresses in support of the cause were delivered by Arago, Odillon Barrot, Garnier Pagès, and other popular leaders: the press shared eagerly in the discussions; and the question was ably debated in the chamber of deputies. But it found no support from the liberal minister.

Reform banquets, June, July, and August, 1840.

Polish banquet prohibited. November 29, 1841.

No interference had hitherto been attempted with the political banquets: but, soon after the accession of the Soult-Guizot ministry, a Polish banquet, in which the French democratic leaders were to take part, was prohibited by the prefect of police. Such an exercise

of power was naturally resented by the democratic press: the government retaliated with prosecutions, and provoked the fierce hostility of the liberal party, and of the press. The indignation of the press was further aroused by a judgment of the chamber of peers, which held newspapers guilty of moral complicity in crimes committed by others, after the publication of inflammatory articles.[1]

Electoral reform. February 1842.

In 1842, the question of electoral reform was presented, in the chamber of deputies, in a very modest form. It was proposed that the franchise should simply be extended to all persons qualified to serve upon juries: but it was resisted, and Guizot declared his opinion that the agitation for reform was promoted by the enemies of social order. This, indeed, was the conviction of the king, and of his ministers; and they dreaded lest any enlargement of the franchise should weaken the security of law and order, in a country distracted by factions, and still convulsed by the passions of the revolution.

Conservative resistance.

Another proposal, for disqualifying future deputies for office, was also resisted by the government. Ministers had determined to take their stand upon a limited franchise, and political corruption. They could not hope to conciliate democracy by moderate concessions: but they might have strengthened the monarchy against its enemies, by forming a wider basis of representation. By refusing any change, they repelled numbers of good citizens, beyond the narrow circle of the franchise,[2] who, in a growing society, would have formed a bulwark against democracy. They took up the same position,

[1] Case of the *Journal du Peuple*, November 1841.

[2] At this time there were 224,000 electors only.

CHAP. XVI.

in regard to electoral reform, as that assumed by the Duke of Wellington, in 1831. The constitution was perfect, and there was no reasonable ground for change. In England, this question was soon brought to an issue by a strong parliamentary party: in France, being left to democratic agitation, it was preparing the way for revolution.

Death of the Duc d'Orléans. July 13, 1842.

The melancholy death of the Duc d'Orléans, in July 1842, was a serious shock to the present dynasty. Under a more settled monarchy, his infant heir, the Comte de Paris, would have sufficiently represented the royal line: but, under a government recently founded upon revolution and the choice of the people, it could not be doubted that the sudden removal of a manly and popular prince from the succession, threatened the stability of the throne.

Continued opposition to reform.

With many causes of anxiety, the conservative policy was successfully maintained for some years. The parliamentary opposition was becoming more formidable, in talent and in numbers: but ministers commanded a steady majority. The press continued hostile: the revolutionists were disaffected; and the national guard were not to be trusted. Neither the king nor his ministers were popular. Even the middle classes of Paris were alienated by the narrow principles of the conservative party: but, with the support of a friendly parliament and a faithful army, the steady course of administration was pursued.

Escape of Louis Napoleon. May 25, 1846.

In May 1846, Louis Philippe was reminded, by the escape of Louis Napoleon from Ham, of the presence of a dangerous pretender to his throne. The prince courted, at once, the friends of the revolution and of the empire: he addressed himself to their sympathies: he promised them freedom and glory: but as yet his preten-

CHAP. XVI.

sions were but the dreams of a few conspirators—not the watchword of a party.

The Spanish marriages. July 1846. July to October, 1846.

A dissolution soon afterwards confirmed the ministerial majority. Everything promised peace and security to the throne, when Louis Philippe's unworthy intrigues to bring about the Spanish marriages [1] suddenly disturbed his cordial relations with England, and shook his credit for good faith, in France and throughout Europe. In addition to charges of domestic misgovernment, his enemies were now able to accuse him of sacrificing the honour of France, to his own family ambition. The estrangement of England from France was followed by a marked opposition in their foreign policy. In Italy and Sicily, in Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland, England was found in sympathy with the liberal party, and favouring constitutional freedom: while France, dreading revolution everywhere, was concerting measures with the absolute powers of Europe, to discourage and repress all popular movements in those States.[2] In foreign and domestic policy, the citizen-king was now reverting to the traditions of the Bourbons. This contrast between the policy of England under a liberal ministry, and that of France under a conservative king and ministers, could not fail to embitter the hostility of the democratic party; and the 'king of the barricades' was denounced as the enemy of freedom, at home and abroad. Popular discontents 1846-47.

[1] Much additional light has been thrown upon these intrigues by the *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar*, ii. 130–207; and the first volume of Mr. Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*.

[2] 'Les grandes puissances de l'Europe venaient témoigner à la France le désir de se concerter avec elle, à l'exclusion de l'Angleterre. Notre cabinet avait accepté leurs ouvertures: un jour était pris (le 15 Mars) pour donner aux arrangemens déjà débattus une forme arrêtée et précise.' —D'Haussonville, *Hist. de la Politique ext. du Gouv. Fr.* 1830–1848, ii. 381.

CHAP. XVI.

were further inflamed by scarcity and high prices, and severe commercial and financial pressure.

Exposure of corruption. July 1847.

While the government was thus surrounded by troubles, some scandalous transactions were revealed on the part of M. Teste, lately minister of public works, and others, connected with a concession of certain salt mines.[1] This, and some other discoveries of a like nature, confirmed the accusations of corruption, by which the chambers and the government had long been assailed, shook public confidence, and threw fresh weapons of offence into the hands of the democratic party.

Revived agitation for reform.

The present unpopularity of the government encouraged the revival of agitation for electoral reform. Nor was this movement confined to the liberal opposition and the revolutionists. The Bonapartists supported it, with the hope of overthrowing the ministers, if not the monarchy. The *bourgeoisie* of Paris, which had been gradually becoming more liberal, and less satisfied with the government, supported the opposition leaders. The advocates of the cause resolved to excite the public feeling in its favour to the utmost. Thiers, as leader of the opposition, stood foremost in the cause; and was supported by Odillon Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne, and other public men; and the revival of reform banquets was chosen as the best form of agitation. These banquets commenced in July 1847; and the parliamentary leaders, resting upon the revolution of July 1830, advocated reforms consistent with

Reform banquets.

[1] In this reign the public works had been one of the chief means of corruption. 'Pour qu'on put agrandir la sphère des faveurs à distribuer, et donner pâture aux âmes vénales, la direction des travaux publics, enlevée à l'état, est devenue un instrument d'agiotage pour les banquiers, un moyen d'achalandage électoral pour les ministres.'—Louis Blanc, *Hist. de Dix Ans*, v. 333.

the constitution: but Lamartine, already a popular leader, expressed more revolutionary sentiments; and at some of the banquets, the socialists did not miss the opportunity of advancing their peculiar principles of social revolution.[1] Partly from these divisions, but mainly from the absence of any real earnestness in the cause, the banquets had no striking success; and before the meeting of the chambers at the end of December, the agitation showed symptoms of failure. In the chamber of deputies, a laboured assault upon the policy of the government also failed, and the opposition saw that, without more vigorous action, their cause was lost.

December 28, 1847.

A reform banquet, announced for January 19, had been postponed, in consequence of a prohibition of the police, under a law of 1790: but the leaders now determined to defy this prohibition, as illegal, and announced a banquet for February 22. As the time approached, however, public excitement had been so much aroused by the impending collision between the reformers and the government, that the leaders, alarmed

Reform banquet.

February 14, 1848.

[1] On January 27, 1848, M. de Tocqueville had said, in the chamber of deputies:—'The working classes are not agitated, as they sometimes have been, by political passions: but can you not perceive that their passions, which were political, are now social? Can you not see that opinions and ideas are spreading amongst them, which tend not only to overthrow this or that law, this or that minister, or even this or that government, but society itself, and to shake the foundations on which it rests? Can you not hear what is daily repeated, that everything which is above their own condition is incapable and unworthy to govern them: that the present division of wealth in the world is unjust: that property rests upon no equitable basis? And are you not aware that, when such opinions as these take root, when they are widely diffused, when they penetrate the masses, they will bring about, sooner or later—I know not when, I know not how—the most tremendous revolutions? Such, sir, is my conviction: we are slumbering on a volcano. I am certain of it.'—Reeve, *Royal and Republican France*, ii. 126.

CHAP. XVI.

at the crisis which they themselves had raised, readily listened to a compromise. It was agreed that the meeting should separate at the first summons of the police; and that the right of meeting, and the legality of the prohibition, should be determined by a court of law. But, to prevent the complete failure of their demonstration, they announced that there would be a procession to the place of meeting, in the Champs Elysées, in which the national guard were invited to attend, in uniform. This demonstration was obviously far more dangerous than the banquet, which had been abandoned; and the government determined to prevent it, by force of arms. Again the leaders of the movement shrank from the dangers which they had provoked; and exhorted the people to give up the procession. The popular gathering being thus abandoned by its promoters, the military preparations for preventing it were discontinued.

The procession.

Tumults. February 22, 1846.

Meanwhile, though no procession was attempted, a large concourse of people assembled in the streets of the capital. The republicans, indignant at the desertion of their parliamentary leaders, had encouraged a peaceful demonstration in favour of reform: many were ignorant that the procession had been countermanded: multitudes, indifferent to the cause, gathered together, in expectation of disorders, or in search of excitement, and to gratify curiosity. All day the streets were occupied by agitated and expectant crowds: but no disorders were committed until the evening, when some troops of cavalry were pelted by the mob, and attempts were made to raise barricades. Such another day, however, could not safely be encountered, and the government resolved upon a military occupation of the city by troops of the line, and the national guard. The latter promptly answered to the

call: but they assembled,—not to fight against their fellow-citizens, but to make common cause with them against the government. Their disaffection was too soon declared. They shouted '*Vive la réforme!*' and placed themselves between the soldiers and the people. The troops could not disperse the mob, without a conflict with the national guards, and were thus reduced to inaction. There was no fighting: but the people were effectually protected by the artful intervention of their armed allies. Without a blow, authority had been overcome; and the mob had triumphed over the government.

Defection of the national guard.

Guizot resigned, and was succeeded by Thiers, to whom Odillon Barrot was soon added. So far, the cause of reform, and the ambition of the opposition leaders, had prevailed. But in the streets and in the offices of the democratic journals, the 'Réforme' and the 'National,' the defection of the national guards, the victory of the populace, and the surrender of the government, were triumphs too great to be satisfied by a change of ministry. They were an encouragement to revolution; and while the national guards returned home, after a day of equivocal distinction, the republicans organised armed bands of revolutionists to march through the streets, and renew the popular excitement. A shot being fired at the soldiers on guard at the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, they replied with a volley. Upwards of fifty of the mob were killed, and their bodies were carried through the streets, and exhibited as the victims of an atrocious tyranny. The ghastly spectacle aroused the fury of the populace, and Paris was soon in a state of insurrection. In presence of this new danger, Marshal Bugeaud was promptly appointed to the military command of Paris, and General Lamoricière to the

Ministry of Thiers and Odillon Barrot.

Insurrection in Paris.

CHAP. XVI.

command of the national guard. The marshal lost no time in restoring order. Not a shot was fired: but every barricade was levelled, every position of the insurgents taken; and in a few hours the military occupation of the capital was completed. The insurrection was overcome: authority was vindicated; and nothing was now wanting, but to inspire the people with confidence in the new ministers. At this very moment, when the government had been rescued from its danger, Marshal Bugeaud received an order to withdraw his troops from their positions! Thiers and Odillon Barrot had resolved upon this fatal order, to conciliate the people, and avert further disorders. But it proved the death-warrant of the monarchy. Abashed and dispirited, the troops withdrew; and Paris was left at the mercy of the republican leaders and the populace. Thiers, scared by the mischief he had done, resigned in favour of Odillon Barrot: but it was now too late to arrest the danger. The mob had occupied the Palais Royal, and was advancing to the Tuileries. The troops were fraternising with the people. The king, assured that his cause was lost, signed his abdication in favour of his grandson, the young Comte de Paris. The royal family had scarcely time to escape from the palace, when it was in the hands of the mob, to be wrecked and rifled at their pleasure.

Abdication of the king.

The courageous Duchesse d'Orléans hastened to the chamber with her two sons, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres; and the chamber, by acclamation, declared the young prince king, and his mother regent. But, suddenly an armed mob burst into the hall, and in the midst of tumult and violence, a provisional government was appointed, with Lamartine at its head.

The Duchess of Orleans and her sons.

CHAP. XVI.

The provisional government.

Meanwhile, another provisional government had been proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville: but a fusion was effected, under the presidency of Dupont de l'Eure; and the republic was proclaimed by Lamartine, from the front of the Hôtel de Ville. A Parisian mob had overthrown the monarchy, and, in opposition to the chambers and the vast majority of the people of France, had suddenly established a republic![1]

Failures of Louis Philippe's reign.

Thus ended the trial of constitutional government under Louis Philippe. Whatever his faults and failures, there had been more of liberty and respect for the law, and more material prosperity, during his reign, than in any former period in the history of France. On every side, there had been disastrous errors. The foundations of his throne, which had always been narrow, were further contracted by the reactionary policy of the last years of his reign. Less reliance upon corruption, and more confidence in the people, might have saved his throne. The reform agitation had been grossly mismanaged by the opposition, on one side, and by the conservative ministry, on the other. In the crisis of the revolution, the king and his family were timid and irresolute: but the crowning error was that of Thiers and Odillon Barrot. The insurrection, which brought them into power, was trifling compared with those which had been repressed by Marshal Soult; and it had been already overcome, when they delivered up the capital to the populace. Their royal master was the king of the barricades: they were themselves the creatures of the present crisis; and they shrank from the unpopularity of a conflict with the people. As for the republican journalists,

[1] 'Donner la France de 1848 à la monarchie, c'était la donner aux factions. Le pays devait prendre sa dictature. La dictature du pays, c'est la république.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rest.* (*Préambule*, 10).

CHAP. XVI.

the leaders of secret societies, and professional revolutionists, they found their opportunity in the anarchy which they had encouraged, and which ministers and liberal deputies had weakly suffered to gain ground.

State of Europe from 1830 to 1848.

The revolution of 1830 had awakened the democracy of Europe: the revolution of 1848 aroused it to still greater activity. Eighteen years had worked many changes in European politics and society. During that period, France had been governed by a constitutional king, deriving his power from the people, and renouncing the old traditions of the Bourbons. England had strengthened her popular institutions, and reformed the abuses and corruptions of centuries. A new political life,—healthy, vigorous and hopeful,—was animating her people at home, and throughout her colonial empire. Her example, and the liberal foreign policy of her statesmen, was giving encouragement to the aspirations of patriots in other lands. In Greece, the birthplace of European liberties, an historic people had cast off the Turkish yoke, and were enjoying independence and constitutional freedom, under the protection of England, France, and Russia. In Belgium, the new monarchy, guided by the consummate judgment of King Leopold, presented a conspicuous example of freedom, reviving prosperity, and contentment. Spain, aided by English sympathies, had overthrown the absolutism of the Bourbons, which had been fastened upon her by French intervention in 1822; and secured guarantees for constitutional government, under the youthful Queen Isabella. Italy had been fretting, more impatiently than ever, against foreign domination, and the repressive policy of her rulers. Hungary had grown discontented with her subjection to Austria. The States of Germany were stirred with aspirations for national freedom, and for

German unity. Everywhere was to be observed a sympathetic movement of races, nationalities, and religions, in favour of independence and union. Such sentiments had once been little regarded in European politics, but were now becoming a potential force in the destinies of nations. CHAP XVI.

While Europe was thus prepared for further political changes, her social development had vastly increased the power of the people. Having recovered from the exhaustion of the revolutionary wars, they had made unprecedented advances in material welfare, and intellectual activity. The inventions of science had enlarged the capacity of human labour. Steam had extended the productive forces of manufactures, the range of commerce, and the communications of the world. The electric telegraph had commenced its magic operations, and was quickening the intercourse of society and of nations. Some restraints upon trade and commerce had already been removed: sounder principles of taxation were beginning to be accepted: industry was encouraged by more enlightened laws, by bolder enterprises, and improved organisation. Wealth and capital were rapidly increasing: evidences of growing prosperity were universal. The industrial classes were acquiring an extended social influence. Social changes.

Yet more remarkable had been the intellectual progress of society during this period. In science and philosophy there was a bold spirit of inquiry, allied with practical aims for the immediate welfare of mankind. In literature there was unexampled variety, and a rare freedom of thought. The labours of the learned were now popularised for the use of the multitude. The successful pursuit of knowledge was accompanied by its Intellectual progress.

CHAP. XVI.

general diffusion. A cheap literature found its way into every household. It had become the wise policy of most States to encourage the education of the people; and popular writers completed the work which governments had commenced. In politics, the newspaper press had acquired extraordinary expansion, and exercised an influence previously unknown, except in revolutionary times. All questions of public interest were discussed with earnestness and freedom. Even in States where the liberty of the press was little respected, newspapers had become an acknowledged political power. Thus nations had been instructed; and public opinion had become a force which rulers could not defy with safety.

Sudden effects of the revolution of February 1848.

Such being the development of European society, the revolution of February 1848 suddenly aroused the latent discontents of many nations.

In Italy.

In Italy, repugnance to the Bourbons and to Austrian rule, had become irrepressible. Sicily was already in revolt, and Naples was

March 1, 1848.

threatened with immediate insurrection. Milan rose in arms against the Austrians, and drove out their forces, under Marshal Radetzky, to Mantua and Verona. Venice, animated by the same spirit, and encouraged by the success of the Milanese, renounced the dominion

March 26.

of Austria, and proclaimed a provisional government. The Dukes of Parma and Modena fled from the sudden wrath of their subjects. The Grand Duke of Tuscany saved his throne by making common cause with his

March 14.

people against his old allies, the Austrians. The Pope hastened to allay the discontents of the Romans, by granting them a new representative constitution; but was driven nevertheless, by the continued demonstra-

May 1.

tions of his people, into a declaration of war against

Austria. But the most signal event of this period—decisive of the destinies of Italy—was the determination of Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia, to unfurl the standard of Italian unity, and to brave the Austrian legions, as leader of that national cause. Italy was now in arms against her rulers; and was entering upon that long and critical struggle, by which her foreign rulers were ultimately expelled from her soil, and freedom and national union were achieved under Victor Emmanuel. March 23.

Threatened in her Italian dominions, Austria was surrounded by dangers yet more critical at home. In the capital, tumultuary risings were followed by the concession of constitutional reforms, and by the flight of Prince Metternich, the veteran councillor of absolutism. Twice the emperor withdrew from the continued disorders of Vienna: nor could the city be reduced except by a besieging army. And at length he resigned his crown into the more vigorous hands of his youthful nephew, Francis John. Meanwhile the empire was in danger of dismemberment. Hungary was preparing to assert her independence: the jealous and hostile races of Germans, Magyars, and Sclaves were arrayed against each other: Sclavonic diets were convened: schemes of a new Sclavonic monarchy were projected; and a provisional government was proclaimed at Prague. Races and nationalities had become an imminent peril to the State. Through the agonies of this crisis the empire passed, with a fearful strain upon its power. The Hungarian insurrection could not be crushed without the aid of Russian arms: the Sclavonic troubles were overcome, for a time, by force and by concessions. Ultimately, a free constitution was granted to Hungary; and the institutions of the Austrian empire were remodelled Austria. December 2, 1848.

CHAP. XVI.

upon a constitutional basis. Throughout its dominions, the principles of absolutism were renounced in favour of freedom. The conflicting claims of rival races and nationalities, in this composite empire, have since proved a grave embarrassment: but Austrian statesmen have learned to treat them with moderation and liberality, and in harmony with the principles of a free State.

Germany.

Throughout the neighbouring States of Germany, the shock of the revolution was no less violent. Notwithstanding the reforms of 1830, these States had generally maintained their former laws and customs. In every kingdom, or feudal principality, were to be seen an old-fashioned court, an exclusive society, a grotesque worship of rank, titles, pedigrees, and armorial quarterings, a tenacious etiquette, invidious privileges, and a narrow political rule. Prussia, under Frederick the Great, continued to be the type of the German States, in the nineteenth century. Wise councillors had long foreseen the necessity of timely concessions to the advancing public opinion of the time: but an inert conservatism had resisted change, and was now to encounter revolution. Nowhere was society more ripe for political changes than in Germany. In the midst of old-world customs, had arisen a learned and speculative generation of thinkers, who had ventured, with singular originality and boldness, into every department of serious study. In history, in philosophy, in politics, and in religion, they had questioned the received opinions of the world. As defiant of authorities and prejudice as the French encyclopædists, they were far deeper and more earnest in their researches, and more demonstrative in their reasoning. The novel speculations of professors were eagerly caught up by enthusi-

astic students; and the educated classes were trained to original thought. German literature was animated by a free spirit of inquiry; and an expanding society, which bore little part in the government of the country, had learned political principles opposed to the narrow policy of their rulers.

Revolutionary movements.

Everywhere the revolutionary spirit of the time revealed itself. The Grand Duke of Baden averted tumults by promptly conceding liberty of the press, a national guard, and trial by jury. Popular demonstrations at Wiesbaden, Frankfort, Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Hesse-Cassel were followed by concessions of political franchises. In Bavaria, the art-loving king Ludwig, who had made his capital a classic city, was forced to abdicate. At Dresden and Hanover, popular movements were satisfied by constitutional guarantees. Disorders spread from the cities to the country, where a peasant war was imminent. Castles were stormed: their archives were burned; and the frightened inmates fled for their lives. Throughout the whole of Germany a strong agitation arose in support of German unity, which resulted in the meeting of a national assembly at Frankfort. At Berlin the king endeavoured to allay the popular excitement by liberal concessions, and by adhesion to the cause of national unity. But there were disastrous collisions between the troops and the populace; and the square beneath the very windows of the royal palace was stained with blood. The king bowed down before the people, and accepted the revolution. He rode through the city, wearing the colours of the German democracy,[1] and promised to take the lead of

May 18, 1848.

March 18.

[1] The tricolour of black, red, and yellow.

CHAP. XVI.

German liberty and unity. Without pursuing further the progress of events in Germany, it may be briefly said that the revolutionary storm had burst over the land, and that everything was changed. Feudalism, privileges, and old-world traditions gave way before the force of public opinion, and the pressure of a new society. Democracy was held in check by the political and social conditions of the fatherland: there were numbers of speculative politicians,—democrats, of every creed, republicans and communists,—and society was, for a time, disturbed and demoralised: but the free institutions of England formed the ideal of the German liberals.[1] Constitutional freedom was achieved; and, after many years, the dream of German unity was realised in the conquering sceptre of the Emperor William.

January 18, 1871.

Belgium and England.

While other countries were thus convulsed by the irresistible force of the revolution, the moral strength of free States presented an instructive political example. Belgium, so lately enfranchised, contemptuously repelled the insignificant efforts of French and native revolutionists.[2] In England, the time-honoured home of freedom, the government, enjoying the hearty confidence of the people, easily repressed the threatening movements of chartists and repealers. Those governments only were secure which rested upon the broad

[1] On March 26, at a great meeting at Heidelberg, Herr Welcker said, 'Let England be our model: she has long enjoyed free institutions: she alone now remains unshaken by the storm which is howling around; and it is to her we must look as our model and our guide.'—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 363.

[2] 'Belgium,' wrote the Queen of England to King Leopold, 'is a bright star in the midst of dark clouds.'—Theodore Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, ii. 23. Among the most striking portions of this interesting work are the admirable letters of the Queen herself.

basis of public opinion and national support. And from this critical year of revolutions the moral may be drawn, that freedom is the surest safeguard against democracy.[1]

[1] For a fuller narrative of the events of 1848, in different parts of Europe, see Lord Normanby, *A Year of Revolution*; Cayley, *The European Revolutions of* 1848; the *Annual Register*, 1848; Theodore Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, vol. ii.; Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848.

CHAPTER XVII.

FRANCE—*continued.*

THE REPUBLIC OF 1848—LOUIS NAPOLEON ELECTED PRESIDENT—HIS RELATIONS WITH THE ASSEMBLY—THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF DECEMBER 2, 1851—THE SECOND EMPIRE—FALL OF THE EMPEROR—THE REPUBLIC OF 1870—THE COMMUNE, 1871—THE REPUBLIC UNDER THIERS AND MARSHAL MACMAHON.

CHAP. XVII.

The Republic of 1848.

FRANCE was now under a democratic republic;[1] and after nearly five-and-forty years of Imperial and monarchical rule, democracy was again in the ascendant.[2] Its character and aims had undergone some

[1] The following are the principal authorities upon the Republic of 1848 and the Second Empire:—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848; Ib. *Mém. inédits*; Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. de la Chute du Roi Louis-Philippe, de la République de* 1848 *et du Rétablissement de l'Empire*; Louis Blanc, *Pages d'Hist. de la Rév. de Février*; Ib. *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848; Ib. *Révélations Historiques*; Regnault, *Hist. du Gouvernement Provisoire*; Lord Normanby, *Year of Revolutions*; Caussidière, *Mém.*; Emile Thomas, *Hist. des Ateliers Nationaux*; Proudhon, *Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*; Guy, *Hist. de Napoléon III.*; Lespez, *Hist. de Louis-Napoléon*; Prévost Paradol, *La France Nouvelle*, 1869; *Mémoires posthumes d'Odilon Barrot*; Jules Simon, *Souvenirs du* 4 *Septembre: Origine et Chute du Second Empire*; Ib. *Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale*; Ib. *La Liberté*; Mauduit, *Révolution Militaire*; Xavier Durrien, *Le Coup d'Etat*; Hippolyte Magen, *Hist. de la Terreur Bonapartiste*; La Vérité, *Recueil d'Actes Officiels; Annuaire.*

[2] Writing in 1849, M. Guizot thus speaks of democracy:—'C'est le drapeau de toutes les espérances, de toutes les ambitions sociales de l'humanité, pures ou impures, nobles ou basses, sensées ou insensées, possibles ou chimériques.'—*De la Démocratie en France*, 3. 'L'empire du mot démocratie n'est point un accident, local, passager. C'est le développement—d'autres diraient, le déchaînement—de la nature humaine tout entière, sur toute la ligne et à toutes les profondeurs de la société; et

changes: but its fundamental principles were the same as ever. The revolution of February, 1848, was characterised by the same lenity as that of 1830. So far from attempting to arrest the royal family in their flight, the provisional government forwarded money to speed them on their way.[1] The late ministers were threatened, to gratify the people: but, in happy contrast to the reign of terror, suffered no molestation. And, further, a decree was issued abolishing capital punishment for political offences. Otherwise the new republic resembled its celebrated prototype of 1792.[2]

May 2. Watchword of the Revolution. Precedents of 1792 followed.

Once more the almost forgotten words, 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,' appeared upon all the public buildings: again 'citoyen' and 'citoyenne' took the place of 'monsieur' and 'madame:' all titles of honour were abolished:[3] the streets received revolutionary names: trees of liberty were planted, and a red ribbon was appointed to be worn in the button-hole of every good citizen. Such were the playthings of the revolution.

par conséquent la lutte flagrante, générale, continue, inévitable, de ses bons et de ses mauvais penchants, de ses vertus et de ses vices, de toutes ses passions et de toutes ses forces, pour perfectionner et pour corrompre, pour élever et pour abaisser, pour créer et pour détruire. C'est là désormais l'état social, la condition permanente de notre nation.'—Ibid. 5.

[1] Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre x. ch. 2–11; Lord Normanby, *A Year of Revolution*, i. 180 *et seq.*

[2] 'La république, telle que l'entendait Lamartine, n'était point un bouleversement à tout hasard de la France et du monde; c'était un avénement révolutionnaire, accidental, soudain dans la forme, mais régulier dans son développement de la démocratie; un progrès dans les voies de la philosophie et de l'humanité; une seconde et plus heureuse tentative d'un grand peuple pour se tirer de la tutelle des dynasties, et pour apprendre à se gouverner lui-même.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre ix. ch. 7.

[3] This was done without the consent of Lamartine, who said, 'Ne commençons pas la révolution par un ridicule; la noblesse est abolie, mais on n'abolit ni les souvenirs ni les vanités.'—*Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre x. ch. 1.

CHAP. XVII.

Clubs re-opened.

In its more serious form, the revolutionary spirit of former times was also revealed. The tranquil rule of the *bourgeoisie* was overthrown. The clubs, which had been closed, were now reopened, and resumed their dangerous activity. The streets and environs of Paris were still crowded by the insurgents, by workmen out of employment, and by the convicts, thieves, and ruffians of that vast city.[1] To avoid general plunder, it was necessary that this hungry multitude should be fed. The provisional government decreed that employment should be ensured to all citizens; and, by opening national workshops, they at once met this pressing danger, and gratified the socialists. The city was still in possession of the populace; the municipal guard had been disbanded, and the troops sent out of Paris; and, for the double purpose of protection and of the employment of dangerous *prolétaires*, the government organised the *Garde Mobile* from the men who had lately fought upon the barricades.

National workshops.

Red Republicans.

The revolution had been mainly the work of red republicans and socialists, and the country was in danger of falling into the hands of that desperate party. These men were imbued with the principles and examples of the revolution of 1789. They were burning to establish the dictation of the mob, by terror, by confiscations, by the dungeon and the guillotine. France was not to govern herself by fair representation:

[1] The populace of Paris may be compared with that of Rome, in the days of Catiline, as described by Sallust:—'Sed urbana plebes, ea vero præceps ierat multis de causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro, atque petulantia maxume præstabant: item alii, per dedecora, patrimoniis amissis; postremo omnes, quos flagitium, aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant.'—*Bellum Catilinarium*, 30.

but was to be ruled by the clubs and demagogues of Paris. Their appropriate signal was the red flag. Their followers were the *prolétaires* of the capital,—the dregs of the populace.[1] They clamoured for the red flag, as the standard of the republic: but Lamartine bravely maintained the national tricolour. They fiercely claimed dominion, in their turn, over the *bourgeoisie*, 'who had sold the sweat of their brows to the monarchy.' They demanded immediate war against all thrones and aristocracies: terror to traitors; and the suspension of the axe of the people over the heads of their eternal enemies.[2]

Socialists and communists.

But the most important characteristic of the revolution is to be found in the increasing power and activity of the socialists and communists. Of these there were several schools. All aimed at the suppression of property, and community of goods: some by direct means: others, of whom Louis Blanc was the chief exponent, by the organisation of labour, which, without confiscating property, was calculated to exhaust capital.[3] There were the disciples of Fourrier, whose doctrine of the community of goods they cherished as a religious faith.[4] They were peaceful enthusiasts,—not conspirators. There were the followers of Cabet, of Pierre Leroux, of Proudhon, and of Raspail,—some practical, some metaphysical, and some even religious, in their schemes of communism. The aims of all these philosophic sects of communists were, at least, philanthropic. If they were wild and impracticable, they had in view the happiness of the human race, according to their own Utopia. These theories gave a certain air of political

[1] Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre vii.
[2] Ibid. i. 371, 392. [3] Ibid. livre vii. [4] Ibid.

CHAP. XVII.

wisdom and morality to the wildest speculations. They had the merits, no less than the defects, of a false religion. But other communists, without the excuse of such theories, aimed simply at destruction and pillage. They hated and envied the rich; and were bent on sharing the good things of this world, which the favoured few had hitherto appropriated to themselves.[1] In the midst of these dangerous factions, the provisional government, by assuming a position of firm moderation, propitiated the upper classes and the *bourgeoisie*, and gained the confidence of foreign powers: but were estranged from the communists and red republicans.[2] They dissatisfied these violent factions: but they saved France from anarchy.[3]

Organisation of labour.

The socialist views of the rights of labour were partially gratified by the establishment of national workshops, in which upwards of 100,000 were soon employed, at two francs a day. Louis Blanc vainly attempted to organise these establishments, upon the favourite socialist principle of community of labour and profits among the workmen, without the control of employers.[4] The paramount interests of workmen were also regarded in the legislation of the republic. It was

[1] Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre vii. xi.

[2] Ibid. livre ix. Lamartine sadly confessed, 'Il n'y a pas de génie humain qui soit à la hauteur d'une fausse situation.'

[3] Ibid.

[4] Louis Blanc, *Pages de l'Hist. de la Révolution de Février*, 63.

'Le cœur de Louis Blanc éclatait en sentiments fraternels, sa parole en images, mais son système en ténèbres.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre ix. ch. 21.

The principles and aims of Louis Blanc may be briefly explained in his own words:—'La vie, le travail, toute la destinée humaine tient dans ces deux mots suprêmes. Donc, en demandant que le droit de vivre par le travail soit réglé, soit garanti, on fait mieux encore que disputer des millions de malheureux à l'oppression de la force ou du hasard: on

CHAP. XVII.

March 26, 1848.

decreed that the hours of labour should be limited in Paris to ten hours, and elsewhere to twelve.[1] Promises were given that wages should not be reduced in times of depression. No wonder that thousands of workmen were now discharged, and thrown upon the national workshops. By another decree, the taxes on salt and other articles of consumption were remitted; and the direct taxes were increased forty-five per cent. The proprietors of land in the provinces, who had taken no part in the revolution, recognised in this decree a scheme of the communists of Paris, for relieving themselves at the expense of their neighbours, and were resolved to seize the first opportunity of resistance.

New taxes.

Firmness of Lamartine.

It was, indeed, by the firmness of Lamartine, and some of his colleagues, that the principles of the red republicans were not suffered to prevail. He disclaimed revolutionary propagandism: he assured Europe of the pacific disposition of the republic:[2] he turned a deaf

embrasse dans sa généralité la plus haute, dans sa signification la plus profonde, la cause de l'être humaine; on salue le Créateur dans son œuvre.'—*Organisation du Travail*, Intr. 4 (5me éd.)

'Le gouvernement serait considéré comme le régulateur suprême de la production, et investé, pour accomplir sa tâche, d'une grande force.'—Ibid. 102.

'Une révolution sociale doit être tentée.'—Ibid. 117.

See also Louis Blanc, *Hist. de dix Ans*, ii. 277–282, iii. 109, 110; Le Play, *Organisation du Travail*; and *Organisation de la Famille*; Emile Thomas, *Hist. des Atel. Nat.*

[1] Reduced to eleven on April 2. In England, the hours of labour of women and children in factories and workshops have been abridged by laws which have also indirectly affected the employment of men. In other trades, the hours of labour have been shortened by combinations of workmen.

[2] 'La guerre n'est donc pas le principe de la république française, comme elle en devint la fatale et glorieuse nécessité en 1792.'—Manifeste à l'Europe; Lamartine, *Hist de la Rév. de* 1848, livre ix. ch. 15.

'Lord Palmerston et le cabinet anglais paraissent avoir compris, avec une haute sagacité, le caractère pacifique, modéré et civilisateur de la république, dirigée au dehors dans un esprit de respect et d'inviolabilité aux institutions diverses des peuples.'—Ibid. livre xi. ch. 10.

CHAP. XVII.

ear to Mr. Smith O'Brien and his deputation of Irish republicans: he resisted the ultra-democratic schemes of Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and the red republicans: he braved the violence of Blanqui, Barbès, and their revolutionary mobs.[1] And, instead of usurping power for a faction, he appealed to the free judgment of his countrymen.[2]

National Assembly convoked.

The good faith of the provisional government was shown in the prompt convocation of a national assembly, to determine the future constitution of France.[3] Universal suffrage was the basis of representation: no narrower franchise would have suited a democratic republic, or satisfied the revolutionary party.[4] Secret voting was also established. The assembly was to consist of nine hundred members, each of whom was entitled to twenty-five francs a day during the session.[5]

Opposition to the elections.

Paris alone had achieved the revolution. Would France ratify it? Its authors and leaders were the rulers of the State: their principles were in the ascendant. Would France approve and confirm them? Such were the questions which agitated the capital and

[1] All these events are graphically detailed by Lamartine himself, in his history of the revolution of 1848, and in his *Trois Mois au Pouvoir*.

[2] 'Les hommes sérieux, partisans du gouvernement démocratique, dans le conseil du gouvernement provisoire, voulaient que la république fût un droit et non une escroquerie de la force ou la ruse d'une faction.'—Lamartine, *Hist de la Rév. de* 1848, livre vi. ch. 8.

[3] 'Nous comptons les jours. Nous avons hâte de remettre la république à la nation,' said the provisional government, in a proclamation to the people.'—Lamartine, livre xii. ch. 5.

[4] 'L'élection appartient à tous sans exception. A dater de cette loi, il n'y a plus de prolétaires en France.'—Proclamation of the provisional government.

[5] The decrees for convoking and constituting the assembly were issued on the 5th and 12th March, 1848. The elections were fixed for the 27th April, and its meeting was appointed for the 4th May, the anniversary of the assembling of the states-general in 1789.

the provinces, the members of the provisional government, and the red republicans. Commissioners were despatched to every part of France to secure support to the government and the republic: doubtful prefects were dismissed: impassioned exhortations were addressed to the electors: threats were uttered of another appeal to the barricades. The socialists and red republicans of Paris naturally distrusted the provincial electors. At present they were masters of the situation: they had the clubs and populace at their command: the government were without troops: the national guards were a democratic force, drawn from the working classes; and Ledru Rollin and other members of the provisional government were known to favour their extreme opinions. Should they await the verdict of the provinces, or at once assail a weak government, which seemed in their power? Their choice was made in the true spirit of French revolutionists.

Invasion of the Hôtel de Ville.

On March 17 they organised a threatening procession to the Hôtel de Ville. The socialists were represented by Louis Blanc and Albert: the red republicans by Blanqui, Raspail, and the democratic clubs: red flags were waved above the companies as they marched: the procession extended from the Champs-Elysées to the Place de Grève, and mustered more than a hundred thousand men.[1] A deputation from this vast body was admitted; and Blanqui, as their spokesman, demanded the postponement of the elections, and the absolute submission of the government to the will of the people, as represented by the democratic clubs. Even Louis Blanc was shocked by the extravagance of these de

[1] 'On l'évaluait à cent ou cent quarante mille hommes.'—Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre xii. ch. 9.

CHAP. XVII.

mands: nor was Ledru Rollin prepared to surrender his power to Blanqui and his confederates. The provisional government, therefore, firmly withstood the deputation, who retired sullen and revengeful, to lead away their discomfited followers. They immediately plotted an insurrection, in order to take the Hôtel de Ville by storm, to postpone the dreaded elections, and to force themselves into the provisional government. The storming of the Hôtel de Ville, however, by an organised mob, was prevented by the courage of Lamartine and the military skill of General Changarnier; and France was again saved from the red republic.[1]

An insurrection thwarted.

Meeting of the assembly, April 23.

May 4.

At length the elections were held, and the national assembly met in Paris. In the capital, and the great towns, the republicans of different types were triumphant: but in the departments, a general reaction against the revolution could not be disguised. The leaders of the red republicans, Blanqui, Barbès, Raspail, and Cabet, found no places in the assembly. One of the first acts of the assembly was to appoint an executive commission, to supersede the provisional government.[2] Not one of the extreme democrats was chosen. Ministers were nominated by the commission. Not one belonged to the extreme party. Their cause was evidently lost, unless it could be restored by force. They had striven to overthrow the provisional government, and now they directed their forces against the assembly.

Storming of the assembly.

Under pretence of presenting a petition for the relief of Poland, a mob burst into the hall of the

[1] Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre xiii. ch. 10–24; Lord Normanby, *Year of Revolutions*, i. 322–326.

[2] They were Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin.

CHAP. XVII.

assembly, turned out the members, declared the assembly dissolved, and proclaimed a new provisional government. Among the new rulers of France were Barbès, Blanqui, Louis Blanc, Raspail, Albert, and Proudhon. Happily the rule of these red republicans and socialists was short. The hall of the assembly was soon cleared by the national guards: the members of the new provisional government were besieged and arrested, in the Hôtel de Ville, and the Prefecture of Police: the democratic clubs were again closed; and order seemed to be restored.[1]

May 15, 1848.

But these dangerous conspirators were not discouraged. In June there were several new elections, and Paris returned Proudhon and other socialist leaders. The general result of these elections, however, was not favourable to that party: while Count Molé, Thiers, and several other statesmen of the monarchy recovered seats in the assembly; and at the same time Prince Louis Napoleon was elected by no less than four departments. He had been supported not only by Bonapartists, but by red republicans, and even by communists, to whom his speculative writings had commended him.[2] Many parties confronted one another in the assembly: but the ultra-democrats formed an insignifi-

New elections.

Prince Louis Napoleon elected.

[1] Lamartine, livre xv. ch. 1–15.

[2] Jerrold, *Life of Napoleon III.* ii. 395–400. The Prince wrote to the President of the Assembly:—'Je n'ai pas cherché l'honneur d'être représentant du peuple, parce que je savais les soupçons injurieuses dont j'étais l'objet. Je rechercherais encore moins le pouvoir. Si le peuple m'imposait des devoirs, je saurais les remplir.'—Ibid. 405. He resigned his seat in the Assembly, and in September was again elected for no less than five departments.—Ibid. 410. He now 'went quietly to the Hôtel du Rhin, in the Place Vendôme, from the windows of which he could see towering over the capital the figure of the great man whose genius had been the guiding star of his life.'—Ibid. 411.

CHAP. XVII.

cant minority. Growing more desperate as political power eluded their grasp, they were plotting another insurrection, when the assembly determined to disperse the idle and dangerous workmen in the national workshops, who had now risen to one hundred and twenty thousand.

Insurrection. June 22–26, 1848.

This moment of discontent was promptly seized upon. The clubs and the red republican and socialist leaders appealed to the workmen, to the revolutionary *prolétaires*, and to the *forçats*,[1] and Paris flew to arms. Of all the insurrections of the revolutionary period, this was the best planned, the most skilfully executed, and the most formidable. It was not a riotous gathering of the people, with uncertain purposes: but the insurrectionary forces were distributed with military strategy: the most important positions in the city were occupied by barricades of stone, bricks, and earthworks:[2] the windows were crowded with *tirailleurs* to fire upon the troops; and the insurgents were inspired with a desperate courage and resolution. So imminent was the danger, that General Cavaignac was appointed dictator. It was not until after hundreds of bloody fights, on four successive days, with fearful loss of life on both sides, that this terrific insurrection was overcome. On either side, there were prodigies of bravery: but the most memorable incident of the strife was the heroic self-sacrifice of Monseigneur Affré, Archbishop of Paris, who fell upon the barricade in the Place de la Bastille, in a vain attempt to arrest the slaughter.[3]

General Cavaignac dictator. June 24, 1848.

[1] It was estimated that no less than 10,000 of this latter class took part in the insurrection. Lamartine, *Hist. de la Rév. de* 1848, livre xv. ch. 14–17; Lord Normanby, *A Year of Revolutions*, ii. 27.

[2] There were nearly 4,000 barricades in different parts of the city.

[3] Lord Normanby, *Year of Revolutions*, ii. 59.

CHAP. XVII.

The red republican insurrection was crushed: a terrible danger had been surmounted: but France was more than ever awakened to the perils which threatened her peace and social order. Her capital had been desolated by a civil war; and if the insurgents had conquered, her fortunes would have been at the mercy of red republicans and socialists. The reaction against democracy was universal; and Frenchmen of all classes were resolved that their noble country should not fall a prey to the *canaille* of Paris.

Reaction against the revolution.

The dictatorship of Cavaignac was continued: the capital was surrounded by troops: the national workshops were closed: the disaffected or untrustworthy legions of the national guard were disbanded: the democratic newspapers were suspended: repressive laws against the press were revived: the clubs were suppressed. Liberty was surrendered for a time, to save the State from anarchy. But the extent of the reaction was soon to be shown in a more striking form. The permanent constitution of the republic was yet to be determined; and the assembly, after much deliberation, decreed that the future government should be vested in a single chamber, and in a president, to be elected for four years, by universal suffrage.

Measures of Cavaignac.

New constitution. Sept. 2—Nov. 4, 1848.

The principal candidates for the presidency were Cavaignac, the dictator, who had saved France from the red republic; Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine,—the most eminent members of the late provisional government,—and Prince Louis Napoleon. Cavaignac still commanded all the influence of the government: he was known to be an earnest republican; and his late services, in the cause of order, deserved well of his country: but Prince Louis Napoleon was chosen by

Louis Napoleon elected president.

CHAP. XVII.

5,434,226 votes. He also professed devotion to the republic, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the people.[1] But was he chosen to maintain the republic, or to restore the empire? That he secured the votes of all Bonapartists, and of millions who still cherished the glorious memory of the great Emperor, is certain:[2] but his election was also an emphatic protest of the middle classes and of the proprietors of the soil against the red republic and the mob-rule of the capital.[3] For the prince himself, the long dream of his life was realised.[4] Like his uncle, he was chief magistrate of the French republic; and his foot was well nigh upon the steps of the imperial throne.[5] 'In the presence of God, and before the French people represented by the national assembly,' he swore 'to remain faithful to the democratic republic:' but visions of the empire were ever floating before his eyes.

[1] So far back as October 21, 1843, he wrote from his prison at Ham: —'J'avais une haute ambition, mais je la pouvais avouer—l'ambition de réunir autour de mon nom populaire tous les partisans de la souveraineté du peuple, tous ceux qui voulaient la gloire et la liberté.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 46. And this continued to be the strain of his later appeals.

[2] 'Le peuple ne savait pas, en définitive, de la révolution que ce qu'il apprenait dans les écoles et dans les camps—les vraies écoles de l'Empire: il croyait en Napoléon, rédempteur de la France et du peuple, crucifié par les rois sur le Calvaire de Sainte-Hélène.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 121.

[3] 'Il s'agit moins pour le pays, dans le mouvement de réaction auquel il est livré, de revenir à tel ou tel des régimes déchus, que d'avoir raison enfin d'un esprit de subversion qui s'attaque indistinctement à tous les régimes, et qui depuis soixante ans n'a consenti à en laisser durer aucun.' —Dunoyer, *La Rév. de 24 Février*, 188.

[4] 'Le jeune prétendant dut entendre plus d'une fois, au fond des bosquets d'Arenenberg, des voix qui lui disaient: "Tu règneras."'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 28.

[5] On January 9, 1849, Walter Savage Landor wrote:—'Necessity will compel him to assume the imperial power, to which the voice of the army and people will call him.'—Jerrold, *Life of Napoleon III.* ii. 376.

CHAP. XVII.

His presidency.

We will not follow Louis Napoleon through his brief presidency. His ambition and his destiny were divined, alike by republicans, legitimists, and Orleanists ;[1] and all parties united in resistance to his aims. They were naturally hostile to his pretensions. Red republicans and socialists dreaded the strong hand of a ruler supported by the army and the party of order. Republicans detected, in his fair promises, the betrayer of the republic, and the crafty usurper. Royalists, who, in the fall of Louis Philippe and the anarchy of the revolution, had cherished hopes of another restoration, feared lest an empire should again stand between the Bourbons and their inheritance. Orleanists, who had lately been cast down from their high places, were fretting for the recovery of their power. In vain he endeavoured to allay suspicions of his ulterior designs, by profuse protestations of his allegiance to the republic, and his respect for the laws.[2] His opponents distrusted his assurances, and multitudes of his supporters

[1] Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist.* ii. 34 *et seq.*

[2] Before his election in December, 1848, he said :—'Je ne suis pas un ambitieux. Elevé dans des pays libres, et à l'école du malheur, je resterai toujours fidèle aux devoirs que m'imposeront vos suffrages et les volontés de l'Assemblée.' And after his election, he said :—'Le serment que je viens de prêter commande ma conduite future. Mon devoir est tracé : je le remplirai en homme d'honneur. Je verrai des ennemis de la patrie dans tous ceux qui tenteraient de changer, par des voies illégales, ce que la France entière a établi.'—Dunoyer, *Le Second Empire*, i. 146, 147. And to the Assembly he addressed these words, on December 20, 1848: —'Vous voulez, comme moi, travailler au bien-être, à la gloire, à la prospérité, du peuple qui nous a élus, et, comme moi, vous pensez que les meilleurs moyens d'y parvenir ne sont pas la violence et la ruse, mais la fermeté et la justice.'—Ibid. 147. At Lyons, on August 12, 1849, he said :—'Les surprises et l'usurpation peuvent être la rêve des partis sans appui dans la nation ; mais l'élu de six millions de suffrages exécute les volontés du peuple : il ne les trahit pas.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 194.

CHAP. XVII.

were already prepared to welcome the revival of the empire.[1]

January 29, 1849.

June 13, 1849.

He met with opposition on every side. The revolutionists of Paris were again busy with plots: but one insurrection ignominiously failed, and another was easily repressed. A socialist insurrection at Lyons was promptly overcome, with great slaughter. Within the walls of the assembly, he encountered difficulties of another kind. He was the elect of France, and was bent upon asserting his personal rule,—the only rule hitherto known in France to king, president, or emperor. The assembly, chosen like himself by universal suffrage, and having a title equal to his own, disputed with him the government of the country. They claimed that his ministers should have the confidence of the majority of their body: the president, resting upon the confidence of the people, assumed the right of nominating ministers at his own discretion. Hence jealousy and contrariety of views could not fail to arise between the executive and the legislature. Such were the relations of parties to the president and to one another, that an orderly government, by parliamentary majorities, was naturally beset with difficulties. Similar difficulties, however, had lately been overcome by Louis Philippe; and might have been successfully encountered by Louis Napoleon, if he had been faithful to the republican constitution. But he was not disposed to share his power with political rivals: he regarded the representatives of the people as obstacles to his own supremacy; and was actively scheming the restoration of the empire, upon the ruins of the republic.

After the elections, in May 1849, the president dismissed the ministry of Odilon Barrot, which had com-

[1] Dunoyer, *Le Second Empire*, i. 146 *et seq.*

manded a majority of the assembly;[1] and formed a new ministry of obscure men, from all parties. He explained his purpose by declaring to the assembly that he needed men who acknowledged 'the necessity of a single and firm direction,' in other words, men who looked to himself, and not to the assembly, for guidance.[2] Such a declaration increased the estrangement of the assembly. Alarmed at the election of six socialist candidates in Paris, they passed a bill[3] requiring three years' residence for the exercise of the franchise, and otherwise striking at the revolutionary *prolétaires*, of all nations, who infested Paris. They opposed the augmentation of the president's salary: they denied him the nomination of mayors; and they appointed an unfriendly commission, from the different parties, to control him during the recess.[4]

October 31, 1849.

March 10, 1850.

Meanwhile the president, opposed by all parties in the assembly,—which, however adverse to one another, were ever ready to combine against him,[5]—appealed to

The president and the assembly.

[1] According to some authorities, the strength of the republican party was increased in the national assembly: but Delord says:—'L'Assemblée constituante était républicaine: l'Assemblée législative qui lui succédait se composait en grande majorité de royalistes.'—*Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 152. So also Jerrold, *Nap. III.* iii. 87. But, however that may have been, the president resolved to set himself free from the restraints of party government.

[2] In his message to the assembly, he said:—'La France, inquiète parce qu'elle ne voit pas de direction, cherche la main, la volonté, de l'élu du 10 décembre.' The national will had been expressed by the election of a Napoleon; and 'ce nom est à lui seul tout un programme.'—Dunoyer, *Le Second Empire*, i. 155.

[3] 'It was afterwards alleged that this measure had been passed in opposition to the wishes of the president: but, according to Delord, 'l'histoire ne trouve aucune trace de cette prétendue répugnance de M. Louis Bonaparte, ni dans ses discours, ni dans ses conversations.'—*Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 187. But see Jerrold, *Nap. III.* iii. 124.

[4] Granier de Cassagnac, ii. 147–160.

[5] 'On voyait toujours quatre partis prêts à faire cause commune contre un seul.'—Dunoyer, *Le Second Empire*, i. 31.

CHAP. XVII.

the sympathy of the people,[1] and the attachment of the army. At Lyons, at Strasburg, and other large towns, his presence was greeted with enthusiasm. At reviews

October 11, 1850.

he was cheered with cries of 'Vive Napoléon!' and at Satory, the cavalry, as they passed him, shouted

November 2, 1850.

'Vive Napoléon! Vive l'Empereur!'[2] The infantry, in obedience to the orders of their general, Neumeyer, were silent; and the general was soon afterwards removed from his command. At other reviews the like cries were heard.[3] Soon afterwards, General Changarnier issued an order to the troops under his command,[4] reminding them that the law and military regulations forbade them to utter cries while under arms. Two months afterwards he was superseded.[5] Other generals were promoted, who enjoyed the entire confidence of the president; and officers friendly to his ambition were carefully sought out and encouraged.[6] He was constantly proclaiming his reliance upon the fidelity of the army.[7]

While making these appeals to the people and the army, he continued his professions of fidelity to the constitution, and endeavoured to disarm suspicions by affecting a lofty disinterestedness. To the assembly he

[1] At Dijon he said, on January 1, 1850:—'J'appelle de tous mes vœux le moment où la voix puissante de la nation dominera toutes les oppositions et mettra d'accord toutes les rivalités.'—*Discours et Proclamations*, 150.

[2] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 193.

[3] 'Le président pendant ce temps-là passe des revues où on crie, 'Vive l'empereur!' comme au temps où les légions faisaient des Césars.'—Delord, *Hist.* i. 207.

[4] He was commander of the troops of Paris and the department of the Seine.

[5] Dunoyer, *Le Second Empire*, i. 159.

[6] Ibid. i. 161.

[7] Ibid. 174.

said, on November 30, 1850: 'The noblest object, and the most worthy of an exalted mind, is not to seek, when in power, how to perpetuate it, but to labour to fortify, for the benefit of all, those principles of authority and morality, which defy the passions of mankind and the instability of laws.'

January 14, 1851. The suspicious policy of the president was met by a resolution of the assembly, declaring that it had no confidence in his ministers. He changed his ministry: but not a single minister did he choose from among the members of the assembly. After a continuance of the strife for some time, he invited Odillon Barrot to form a ministry; and, on his failure, he again resorted to the assembly for a cabinet. The new ministry, however, did not embrace any of the leaders of parties; and was not designed to conciliate their support. The president's policy of personal rule was incompatible with representative government; and his ulterior aims alienated all parties but his own.

April 10, 1851.

Revision of the constitution. The time was approaching when a revision of the constitution was demanded: but while a majority of the assembly approved it, a vote of three-fourths, as required by the constitution, could not be obtained. The powers of the president were limited to four years, and he was disqualified for re-election. He was already straitened in his civil list; and he must soon lay down his power, and retire into poverty and obscurity. An event so fatal to his ambition, he was resolved to avert. His ultimate reliance was upon the army and the people: but, in the meantime, he sought, by a popular measure, to increase his influence and popularity. If he found the assembly intractable, other means must be tried to ensure the continuance of his power.

July 20, 1851.

CHAP. XVII.

Believing that the restoration of universal suffrage would favour his own claims, he now urged the repeal of the law of May 31, 1850. His ministers, fearing a socialist majority in the next assembly, objected to the change, and resigned; and, with the advice of a new ministry, the proposal was made by the president to the assembly. But his object in seeking an extension of the suffrage was too well known to find favour with his opponents. The republicans were drawn towards him by so democratic a measure: but the royalists were no less opposed to it than to its author.[1]

November 4, 1851.

Distrust of the assembly.

The distrust of the assembly in the designs of the president was now further aroused by a speech addressed by him to the officers of some regiments lately arrived in Paris, selected as faithful to his cause. He told them that he had placed at their head men who had his entire confidence; and that, if the gravity of affairs should compel him to appeal to their devotion, he was assured that he should not be disappointed. He would not say to them, 'March, and I will follow you:' but he would say, 'I march: follow me.' Such words as these seemed to betray some hidden purpose, not warranted by the foreign or domestic necessities of the State. General St. Arnaud, the new minister of war, also issued an order of the day, protesting against the power of the assembly to require the aid of a military force. To guard against surprise from the master of many legions, the assembly looked about for some means of defence. Accordingly, the quæstors submitted a motion for giving effect to a decree of May 11, 1848, which empowered the president to require the armed force of the State for its protection. A com-

[1] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 249–255.

November 17, 1851.

mittee adopted this motion; and no less than three hundred members supported it by their votes in the assembly.[1]

The president and the assembly.

A serious conflict between the president and the assembly was now imminent. Prefects, mayors, and the Bonapartist press espoused the cause of the president, and rebuked the assembly as factious and unpatriotic. It was accused of thwarting his enlightened measures, and even of plotting against his authority. But, in truth, the president had himself provoked the contest, by dissociating himself from the representatives of the people, by his alarming appeals to the army, and by his ill-concealed designs of personal ambition.[2] The strife, however, was unequal. The president was armed with all the powers of the State: the assembly was utterly defenceless. Its different sections might concert measures for the protection of the republic: they might resolve and protest: they might beat the air, but they could not command the services of a single soldier or policeman.[3]

[1] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 255-266.

[2] 'Des projets de décrets préparés dans le cas où l'Assemblée serait obligée de requérir la force publique ne sont pas des actes de conspiration.' —Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 272. According to De Tocqueville, 'Les amis de M. Louis-Napoléon, pour excuser l'acte qu'il vient de commettre, répètent qu'il n'a fait que prendre les devants sur les mesures hostiles que l'Assemblée allait adopter contre lui. Cette manière de se défendre n'est pas nouvelle en France. Tous nos révolutionnaires en ont usé pendant ces soixante dernières années. . . . L'Assemblée, loin de conspirer contre Louis-Napoléon et de lui chercher querelle, a poussé la modération et le désir de vivre avec lui en bon intelligence presque à un degré voisin de la pusillanimité.'—Letter to the *Times*, November 11, 1852. Mr. Kinglake says:—'It is not true, as was afterwards pretended, that the executive was wickedly or perversely thwarted either by the votes of the assembly, or by the speeches of its members: still less is it true that the representative body was engaged in hatching plots against the president.' —Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, i. 206 (4th edition).

[3] For some obscure evidences of the defensive plans of the assembly, see Lespez, ii. 351; Ashley, *Life of Lord Palmerston*, i. 286; Jerrold, *Nap. III.* iii. 304-317.

CHAP. XVII.

Preparations for the *coup d'état.*

November 27, 1851.

Meanwhile the president was busy with a daring scheme of usurpation. It could not be attempted without assurances of the support of the army, and these were obtained at a confidential meeting at General Magnan's, where twenty-one general officers engaged to obey his orders, and to save France.[1] The army was safe, and the president was acquiring the command of the police, the magistracy, and all the executive departments, for carrying out his designs against the assembly.[2] His advisers were not responsible ministers, whose names would have been a guarantee for constitutional measures: but were creatures of his own, devoted to his cause,—daring and unscrupulous men, who were fitted for the dark schemes of conspirators. There was no more persistent schemer than the president; and he found in his confederates—De Morny, Fleury, Persigny, St. Arnaud, De Maupas, and De Béville—men bolder and more resolute than himself. To make their services effective, the most important offices were entrusted to them. De Morny as Minister of the Interior, St. Arnaud as Minister of War, and De Maupas as Prefect of Police, commanded the civil and military forces of the State; and were ready to use them, without scruple, for the overthrow of the Republic.

The plan concerted by them was more deeply plotted than that of the 18th Brumaire, of which it was otherwise the parallel: it was matured with the secresy and craft of a conspiracy, and carried out with

[1] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire,* i. 244.

[2] De Tocqueville, writing to Mr. Senior on November 28, said:—'Il ne peut plus aboutir qu'à de grandes catastrophes. Cette prévision si claire et si prochaine me remplit le cœur d'une douleur si profonde et si amère que je cherche, autant que je le puis, à en détourner ma pensée.'—*Œuvres et Corr. inédites,* ii. 183.

a selfish and cruel resolution which recals the deeds of the terrorists of 1793.[1]

CHAP. XVII.

Coup d'état of Dec. 2, 1851.

On the night of December 1 everything was ready, when the president took final counsel with his secret advisers, the Comte de Morny, General St. Arnaud, De Maupas, Prefect of Police, De Persigny, and Colonel de Béville; and the bold enterprise was at once carried into execution. They had at their disposal all the powers of the State, the army, the national guard, the police, the civil administration, the courts of justice, the State printing-office, and a Bonapartist press, while the assembly was divided and disarmed. The parliamentary leaders were fast asleep in their beds at two o'clock in the morning of December 2, when they were aroused by the police, and carried off to prison. The most distinguished generals shared the same fate. The foremost men of France[2] were treated like felons, and carted away in the dead of night to ignominious cells.[3] The hopeful career of many was stopped for ever, and all hopes of liberty or constitutional government were extinguished. The chief revolutionists of the clubs and secret societies were at the same time arrested and imprisoned. Eighty-four of the men whose resistance was most feared were in safe custody. All but the Bonapartist newspapers were seized and silenced. Before daylight the walls of Paris were placarded with

[1] *Supra*, p. 206.

[2] 'Contre qui sont dirigées les premières et les plus grandes violences de M. Louis Bonaparte? Est-ce contre les démagogues et les anarchistes? Non; c'est contre les amis de l'ordre les plus connus, les plus considérables, les plus dévoués.'—Dunoyer, *Le Second Empire*, i. 183. 'Les adversaires de son ambition, voilà les véritables objets de sa haine et les ennemis qu'il faut surtout dompter.'—Ibid. 184.

[3] They were conveyed, 'de propos délibéré, dans les voitures destinées au transport des criminels condamnés au bagne.'—Ibid. 231.

CHAP. XVII.

a proclamation,[1] announcing to the astonished world the dissolution of the assembly, the repeal of the law of May 31, 1850, and the election of another assembly by universal suffrage. The council of state was dissolved, and Paris was declared in a state of siege.

The president accused the assembly of forging the arms of civil war, and plotting to overthrow the power which he held from the people. At the same time, he submitted the scheme of a new constitution, consisting of a chief magistrate elected for ten years, a cabinet appointed by himself alone, a new council of state, a legislative body chosen by universal suffrage, and a second chamber of illustrious men. And he asked these favours on behalf of the cause of which his name was the symbol.[2]

Other members of the assembly imprisoned.

When the members of the assembly, who had been spared by the police, learned the arrest of their colleagues, they hastened to concert a resistance to the *coup d'état*. They met at different places. Some found their way into the hall of the assembly itself, whence they were driven by force, twelve of their number being seized and hurried off to prison. At length two hundred and twenty deputies assembled at the Mairie of the 10th Arrondissement, where they decreed the deposition of the president, and declared that the executive power had passed to the national assembly. Their deliberations, however, were soon interrupted by the entry of soldiers and police; and as they refused to

[1] This proclamation had been printed at the State printing-office, the printers having worked in custody of the police.

[2] 'Si vous croyez que la cause dont mon est le symbole—c'est-à-dire, la France régénérée par la révolution de 1789, et organisée par l'empereur—est toujours la vôtre, proclamez-le en consacrant les pouvoirs que je vous demande.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 282.

disperse, they were marched off as prisoners to the cavalry barracks on the Quai d'Orsay.[1] Hence, after nightfall, they were conveyed, in prison vans, to Vincennes and to the prison of Mazas.[2] Two hundred and thirty-five representatives of the people, including twelve statesmen who had been cabinet ministers, were treated as felons.[3] Many were afterwards banished from France.[4]

The high court of justice.

The high court of justice, while deliberating upon the violations of the constitution, which it was its function to restrain, was interrupted by the police, and was closed by force.[5] Every constituted authority was silenced; and scattered deputies and journalists vainly attempted to arouse a popular insurrection against the president. The *bourgeoisie* and the people were divided, the assembly was unpopular, and the president still professed his fidelity to the republic. There was no common ground of resistance to the *coup d'état*. Parties and classes were disunited and surprised: while the executive wielded the army, the police, and the civil administration of the State. The red republican party had been shot down in the street fights of June, 1848, imprisoned, and transported; and their surviving leaders had just been captured.

The massacre on the boulevards.

The troops, among whom the president had distributed fifty thousand francs—the last remains of his private fortune[6]—continued faithful to his cause; and

[1] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 309–323.

[2] Ibid. 335, 336, 344 *et seq.* 363.

[3] Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, i. 251, 252.

[4] Ibid. 390.

[5] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 325–328, 354–355; *Annuaire*, p. 373.

[6] Granier de Cassagnac, ii. 431.

CHAP. XVII.

under their protection he rode through the streets of Paris. He was received with acclamations: but the people, taken by surprise, and uncertain as to the true purport of the startling events of the morning, were curious and wondering rather than demonstrative.[1] The capital was commanded and held in check by an overwhelming force: yet several barricades were raised, which for a long time were not assailed by the troops, but at length, on December 4, they were easily carried. All who were found upon the barricades were put to death: no quarter was given to insurgents. But the gravest incident of this day was the firing of the troops upon the windows of the houses on the boulevards, and upon the loiterers on the pavement.[2] In vindication of this murderous fire, it was alleged that the houses were occupied by insurgents, who threatened the passing troops: but the assertion is contradicted by the best contemporary evidence. The extent of the slaughter may have been partly due to misapprehension and panic: but there is too much reason to believe that the assault was designed to strike terror into the people, and to display the resolution of the troops. The contrivers of the *coup d'état* were almost disconcerted by the tame submission of the people. Where was the danger which had justified these daring violations of the law? This unwarrantable massacre at once magnified an abortive insurrection, and proved the vigour of the usurper. Charles X. and Louis Philippe had quailed before the populace of Paris: but Louis Napoleon had no pity upon insurgents. The capital was subdued and

Dec. 2.

Dec. 4.

[1] Mr. Kinglake says, 'Upon the whole, the reception he met with seems to have been neither friendly nor violently hostile, but chilling, and in a quiet way scornful.'—*Invasion of the Crimea*, i. 245.

[2] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 367–384; Kinglake, *Hist. of the Crimean War*, i. 265–274; *Ann. Reg.* 1851.

terror-stricken, and the spirit of resistance was trampled out in blood. No act during the numberless conflicts in the streets of Paris was remembered with so much bitterness and resentment. The *coup d'état* was successful: but it was stained with innocent blood, the shedding of which was never forgiven.[1]

Measures of coercion.

Great numbers of citizens were known to be faithful to the republic. They had taken no part in the street fights: they had not opposed the irresistible forces of the *coup d'état*: but they were dangerous, and must be disabled. All men who had been members of secret societies were declared liable to transportation to Algeria or Cayenne;[2] and for this cause thousands of active citizens were transported without a trial. Within a few weeks after December 2 no less than 26,500 persons were transported as guilty of divers offences against the

[1] See the account of the *coup d'état* in the *Times* of December 11, 1851, written by M. de Tocqueville, who was one of the deputies arrested on December 2.—Reeve, *Royal and Republican France*, ii. 136, 137. Also letter of Captain Jesse to the *Times*, December 13.—*Ann. Register*. De Tocqueville says, in one of his letters, 'This government has established itself by one of the greatest crimes recorded in history.'—Ibid. ii. 138.

'Il faut qu'on le sache bien, en effet, nulle transaction avec l'esprit révolutionnaire, avec ce détestable esprit de violence et de fraude dont l'attentat du 2 décembre a été la plus odieuse manifestation parmi nous, ne saurait être de nature à nous assurer la paix.'—Dunoyer, *Le Second Empire*, i. 115.

'Il est manifeste pour tout homme de bon sens qui prend la peine d'examiner les faits, que cette acte d'insigne félonie n'était nécessaire, ni pour la conservation des pouvoirs légaux du président, ni pour la défense de la société contre la démagogie socialiste, ni pour la conciliation des partis modérés.'—Ibid. i. 145.

One of the best, but most severe, accounts of this grievous incident is to be found in Mr. Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, i. 265—274 (4th edition). Mr. Jerrold justifies this and every other incident of the *coup d'état* more boldly than any French writer (*Life of Nap. III.* iii. B. 8).

[2] Decree of December 8, 1851.

CHAP. XVII.

State.[1] About two thousand republican journalists, lawyers, physicians and other educated men, were imprisoned until all fear of popular movements had passed away. The revolution had been wholly the work of the rulers of France: it had met with a feeble resistance: yet the proscription which ensued was as merciless as if the people had risen in arms against a lawful government. In any other country, such deeds would have been followed by the execrations of Europe: but in this land of revolutions, where force had long been the arbiter of laws and liberty, they were too easily condoned by Frenchmen, and by European opinion.

The capital was subdued by force, and the provinces were under control. Twelve departments round Paris were in a state of siege: thirty-two departments were placed under martial law; and elsewhere, the prefects, the mayors, and all other functionaries were ordered, under pain of instant dismissal, to secure the adhesion of the people in the approaching *plébiscite*. In overthrowing the assembly and the constitution, the president was everywhere proclaimed as the champion of order, and the unrelenting enemy of socialists and red republicans. By supporting his authority good citizens would put down socialism and anarchy. Commissaries were despatched into the provinces to overawe resistance, and the priests were active in leading their flocks to the poll. No meetings were permitted: the press was silenced: the distribution of negative voting-papers was forbidden: the army had already voted 'Yes,' and few out of the mass of affrighted electors ventured to say 'No.' They had but to say 'Yes' or

The plébiscite.

[1] Granier de Cassagnac, ii. 438; Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, ii. 32.

'No;' and in this form the acts of the president and the new constitution were ratified by the votes of 7,439,216 electors; and Louis Napoleon, absolute master of France, was left to choose his own time for the restoration of the empire. CHAP. XVII.

His aims were soon disclosed. He immediately replaced the Roman eagle upon the national standards, and took up his residence at the Tuileries.[1] His new presidency, or dictature, was celebrated at Notre Dame, with a pomp which recalled the glories of the First Napoleon.[2] His powers, under the new constitution, were little less than imperial.[3] He was president for ten years: he commanded all the forces of the State, by land and sea: he made treaties with foreign powers: with him rested the initiation, the sanction, and the execution of the laws; justice was administered in his name: he exercised the prerogative of mercy. The legislature was stripped of every inconvenient privilege. It could neither initiate laws, nor ask questions of ministers. No amendments could be discussed without the previous approval of the *Conseil d'Etat.* The budget was no longer voted in chapters, or articles, but in ministerial departments.[4] The president, in truth, was already emperor, save in name; and this consummation was not long delayed. In all his proclamations and addresses, the empire was held up as the ideal of national happiness and glory.[5] Louis Napoleon after the *coup d'état.*

[1] January 1, 1872.—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 397.

[2] Ibid.

[3] 'In the making of such laws as he intended to give the country, Prince Louis was highly skilled, for he knew how to enfold the creation of a sheer oriental autocracy in a nomenclature taken from the polity of free European States.'—Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, i. 305.

[4] 'Par ministère.'—Delord, i. 401, 402.

[5] In distributing eagles to the army, on May 10, he said:—'L'aigle

CHAP. XVII.

And, while gratifying the army, and the natural pride of Frenchmen, by recollections of the military prowess of the first empire, he appealed to the prudence and sobriety of the middle classes, and the susceptibilities of foreign powers, by proclaiming the forthcoming empire as the inauguration of peace. 'L'empire, c'est la paix,' he said at Bordeaux; and his words were accepted as a pledge that, in succeeding to the throne of Napoleon I., he renounced his policy of war and aggression. The State functionaries and the Bonapartist press were busy in preparing public opinion for the impending change: conspicuous demonstrations in honour of the coming Cæsar were concerted: he was greeted with enthusiastic cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' and at length he announced that the signal manifestation, throughout France, in favour of the restoration of the empire, imposed upon him the duty of consulting the senate. That body was devoted: the people accepted a *plébiscite* restoring the imperial dignity by 7,824,129 votes; and Louis Napoleon accepted the proffered crown as Napoleon III.[1]

December 1, 1852.

The second empire.

The second empire was proclaimed with becoming ceremonies, and an imperial court was formed of rare magnificence. The scattered members of the Bonaparte family appeared again upon the scene, as princes and princesses of the empire. The authors of the *coup d'état*, and other friends and followers of the emperor, were rewarded with dignified and lucrative offices. The imperial household was graced by num-

romaine, adoptée par l'empereur Napoléon au commencement de ce siècle, fut la signification la plus éclatante de la régénération et de la grandeur de la France.'—Ibid. 437.

[1] His title was 'Napoleon III., by the grace of God, and by the will of the people, Emperor of the French.'

bers of stately functionaries, with high-sounding titles. The representation of the empire was arranged upon a scale of splendour and extravagance, which recalled the times of Louis le Grand.

The emperor's marriage.

But this grandeur was incomplete without a consort to preside over the society of the court; and the dynasty was insecure without an heir to the crown. The emperor, having vainly sought a bride in the royal houses of Baden and Hohenzollern, hastened to offer his hand to the beautiful Spaniard, Eugénie de Montego. She could boast of no royal lineage: but the Austrian alliance of the First Napoleon had proved the worthlessness of such a union to a revolutionary throne; and the fair lady of his choice was well fitted, by her graces and virtues, to adorn the new imperial court.

The nobles.

After the *coup d'état*, Louis Napoleon had already restored titles of honour; and he now endeavoured to surround himself by the most illustrious nobles of France. The nobility of the first empire were naturally the chief ornaments of his court: but the old Legitimist and Orleanist nobles generally held themselves aloof from the Bonapartist circle, and affected the more select society of their own friends in the Faubourgs St. Germain and St. Honoré.[1] But if the old

[1] At first 'la majorité du parti légitimiste semblait plus disposée à suivre l'exemple du clergé, devenu ardent Bonapartiste, qu'à se rallier à la voix de l'héritier des lis.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, ii. 122. Several accepted public employments: but they became more and more estranged from the empire, and the greater part absented themselves from the court. 'In France, for the most part, the gentlemen of the country resolved to stand aloof from the government, and not only declined to vouchsafe their society to the new occupant of the Tuileries, but even looked coldly upon any stray person of their own station, who suffered himself to be tempted thither by money.'—Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, i. 323.

CHAP. XVII.

nobility were absent from the Tuileries, there was no lack of aspirants for new honours and distinctions. Military dukedoms, and other titles of nobility, were created, as in the first empire. Plebeian names were dignified by the ennobling prefix, so much cherished in French society; and the legion of honour was lavished with such profusion, that to be without its too familiar red ribbon was, at length, accounted a mark of distinction.

The imperial court.

A court so constituted could not represent the highest refinement of French society, It was gay, luxurious, pleasure-seeking, and extravagant:[1] but adventurers, speculators, and persons of doubtful repute,[2] were in too much favour to win for it the moral respect of France or of Europe. Nor did it gain lustre from the intellect of the age.[3] Men of letters were generally faithful to the fallen monarchies or to the republic; and were not to be won over by the patronage of the empire. They had been cruelly scourged by Louis Napoleon, and neither the principles of his rule, nor the character of his associates, attracted the intellectual classes.[4] Material force,

[1] 'La cour donne un bal aujourd'hui: demain c'est le ministre, après-demain le directeur-général: la semaine prochaine le chef de bureau. Le luxe sévit d'un degré à l'autre de l'échelle des familles comme une épidémie. Ce fléau moral épuise la nation: dépenser plus que l'on ne gagne, voilà l'économie politique du luxe: tous les moyens sont bons pour gagner de l'argent, telle est sa morale.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, i. 508.

[2] 'Un pouvoir créé par la force, avec la rapidité d'un changement de décor à vue, ne groupe autour de lui que des hommes assaillis d'embarras d'argent, prêts à embrasser la première cause que leur offre une chance de se délivrer de leurs créanciers.'—Ibid. ii. 2.

[3] 'There is an absolute divorce between the political system and the intellectual culture of the nation.'—Lord Lytton, *The Parisians*, i. 187.

[4] 'La presse, l'académie, les salons, l'université, toutes les forces intellectuelles du pays, sauf le clergé, étaient tous en hostilité, ouverte ou

wealth, and splendour were the idols of his court, and the poet and philosopher were ill at ease in such a company.

Principles of government.

The empire was now firmly established, and Louis Napoleon wielded a power as great as that of any former king or emperor. But he ruled by a different title, and upon other principles of government. His empire, founded upon the sovereignty of the people, was a strange development of democracy. He had been chosen by universal suffrage, yet he wielded a power all but absolute and irresponsible. He ruled by the voice of the people: but he forbad the expression of their sentiments in the press or at public meetings. The chamber of deputies was elected, like himself, by the whole people. An assembly so popular in its origin ought to have been a check upon the will of the emperor: but it did not hesitate to accept his policy and approve his acts. Enjoying a freedom of discussion unknown beyond its walls, it was able to give expression to public opinion: but it never aspired to independence. Yet the democracy of France was not ignored: the emperor was sensitively alive to the national sentiments, which he was always striving to propitiate: he never forgot the democratic origin and basis of his throne. Political liberties were repressed: but public opinion, so far as it could be divined without free discussion, was deferred to and respected.

Wars of the empire.

To satisfy this public opinion, and to win the support of various sentiments, interests and parties, the policy of the emperor assumed many forms. He had

cachée, contre le gouvernement, réduit à les comprimer pour assurer son existence.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, ii. 272.

CHAP. XVII.

proclaimed the empire as peace:[1] but, to gratify the susceptibilities of Frenchmen, he afterwards declared that 'not a gun should be fired in Europe without the consent of the Tuileries;' and he desired to revive the military glories of France, to restore his influence in the councils of Europe, and to gratify the army, to whom he mainly owed his crown. Hence his forwardness in bringing about the Crimean war. Urged by the same motives, he espoused the cause of Italy, against Austria, while he conciliated the republican party and their confederates, the carbonari, by fighting the battles of Italian liberty. He was no soldier: but in the Italian war he took the lead of French armies, and strove to emulate the military renown of the First Napoleon. His warlike ambition was allied to a greed of territorial aggrandisement;[2] and his services to Italy were rewarded by the cession of Savoy and Nice. This adventurous policy was popular; and it diverted the thoughts of Frenchmen from the loss of their liberties: but it was fraught with dangers.[3] New enterprises were planned: French armies were despatched to Morocco, to China, and to Syria; and a

1854.

1859.

1860.

1859-61.

[1] Speech at Bordeaux, October 8, 1852:—'L'empire, c'est la paix.'

[2] 'La France seule, avait dit Napoléon III., combat pour une idée. Cette idée, pour le second empire, comme pour le premier, n'était-elle que l'augmentation de son territoire.'—Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, ii. 664.

[3] De Tocqueville forecast these dangers eighteen years before the fall of the second empire. He wrote:—'This government, which comes by the army, which can only be lost by the army, which traces back its popularity and even its essence to the recollections of military glory,—this government will be fatally impelled to seek for aggrandisement of territory and for exclusive influence abroad; in other words, to war. That at last is what I fear, and what all reasonable men dread as I do. War would assuredly be its death, but its death would perhaps cost dear.'—Reeve, *Royal and Republican France*, ii. 139.

wild scheme of intervention in the affairs of Mexico, in order to extend the influence of France in America,[1] resulted in conspicuous failure and humiliation.[2] This failure was the turning-point in the fortunes of his reign; and at length he was hurried into a still graver error. Jealous of the victories and aggrandisement of Prussia, and possessed by the passionate faith of his countrymen, that the Rhine was the natural frontier of France,[3] he brooded over schemes of conquest, and annexation, until he plunged into the fatal war with his too powerful neighbour, which was to be his ruin.

1861–65.

1866.

1870.

Domestic policy.

In his military ambition Louis Napoleon followed the traditions of the empire. In his domestic policy, he took examples from the empire, the reign of Louis Philippe, and the republic of 1848. While yet president, he had propitiated the clergy, and outraged the republicans, by assisting the Pope, against the Roman republic. When he threw himself into the Italian wars, he continued his patronage to his Holiness, and by other measures strove to secure the good will of the clergy and the Catholic laity. He was not less rigorous than the First Napoleon in restraining the liberty of the press, and of political association.

1849.

[1] 'M. Michel Chevalier, membre du sénat, en annonçant, dans un recueil important, le choix de l'archiduc Maximilien, "désigné pour la lourde tâche d'inaugurer la couronne mexicaine," déclarait que l'expédition du Mexique avait pour but d'assurer la prépondérance de la France sur les races latines, et d'augmenter l'influence de ces dernières en Amérique.' —Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, iii. 349.

[2] Ibid. iv. 169, *et seq.* America declared 'qu'il ne convient pas à la politique des Etats-Unis de reconnaître un gouvernement monarchique élevé en Amérique sur les ruines d'un gouvernement républicain, et sous les auspices d'un pouvoir européen quel qu'il soit.' The Emperor Maximilian was sacrificed, and the French scheme of Latin domination collapsed.—Ibid. iv. 241.

[3] Ibid. iv. 478–486.

CHAP. XVII.

1864. He even interdicted a banquet to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare.[1] Not less resolute was he in maintaining his personal rule, and swaying ministers and senates, in obedience to his will. The imperial court was maintained in unexampled splendour and profusion. In all things, he revived the memories of the first empire.

Corruption. Nor was he unmindful of the lessons of Louis Philippe. That monarch's power had rested upon the commercial and middle classes. The rule of the emperor was founded upon a far wider basis: but he studied the interests of the *bourgeoisie* with even greater care than the citizen king himself. He gave encouragement to every commercial and industrial enterprise. He developed, with signal success, the material resources of the country. The activity of the *Bourse*—mischievous in many ways—afforded evidence of the abounding energies of French commerce. By international exhibitions, he stimulated invention, and attracted rulers and people of all nations to his capital. Notwithstanding an ever-increasing taxation, the people were growing rich. Not without economic errors, his policy was so far statesmanlike;

1860. and in his commercial treaty with England he encouraged free trade, in an enlightened spirit, far in advance of French opinion. But, further, he practised the arts of corruption upon a far larger scale than Louis Philippe. By concessions of railways and other public works, he put riches into the hands of eager capitalists and speculators. He gratified the municipalities and the inhabitants of provincial towns with costly palaces of justice, markets, and other public

[1] Delord, *Hist. du Second Empire*, iii. 517.

buildings, not unworthy of a capital. He multiplied places, with a lavish hand; and the legion of honour adorned the button-holes of thousands of faithful citizens. Black was their ingratitude, if they proved unfaithful to the empire.

Employment of labour.

The republic had recently tried the dangerous experiment of national workshops, which had resulted in failure and insurrection. But the emperor found, in that communist scheme, suggestions for an imperial design, which united with public employment a monumental work to the honour and glory of France. The working classes had proved a chronic danger to the State; and he resolved to associate them with his policy and his ambition. It had been the boast of the Emperor Augustus that he had found Rome brick, and had left it marble;[1] and the French Cæsar, emulous of his fame, determined to rebuild his capital, upon a scale of costly magnificence. In this enterprise his chosen agent was Haussmann, the bold and spirited Prefect of the Seine. The work of reconstruction was undertaken: large numbers of workmen were maintained in constant employment: the narrow and crooked streets of the ancient city were replaced by broad thoroughfares and stately boulevards; and a new capital arose, which,—if somewhat monotonous in its uniformity, and wanting in the picturesque features of old Paris,—was distinguished for its architectural grandeur. Nor was this scheme of reconstruction confined to Paris. The municipal glories of the capital were emulated in the provinces; and Lyons, Marseilles, and

[1] 'Urbem, neque pro majestate imperii ornatam, et inundationibus incendiisque obnoxiam, excoluit adeo, ut jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset.'—Suetonius, i. 237 (Delph).

CHAP. XVII.

Bordeaux vied with the Prefect of the Seine in architectural enterprise. A vast scheme of national workshops was established, without the taint of communism, while founded upon its evil principles. What if these costly enterprises should be interrupted, or brought to a close? What if financial difficulties should arrest, or zealous haste too speedily complete them? The spectres of hungry crowds, and barricades, hovered over the vast creations of Haussmann. And while architects were designing broad streets, and boulevards, generals were planning how they could be swept, from end to end, with grape-shot. Meanwhile, municipal extravagance kept pace with the profusion of the State. France was living fast in those days, and was not yet reckoning the cost of her ambition. The empire prospered; and its superficial admirers, in English society, were heard to lament that their own country lacked the fostering care of the wonder-working emperor.

The war with Prussia.

But the end was approaching. In the midst of his magnificence, the emperor was ill at ease. Like the First Napoleon, and Louis Philippe, he had been exposed to the plots of assassins. He was, further, disturbed by an increasing pressure for constitutional reforms. So great and cultivated a society as that of France, could not live contentedly under the repressive policy of the empire; and the race of republicans and revolutionists, though subdued, were not extinct. To satisfy public opinion, he resolved to introduce ministerial responsibility, to defer to the judgment of a majority of the chambers, and to restore a large measure of freedom to the press. He was driven to entrust his imperial powers to the hands of a Liberal ministry, under Emile Ollivier. Forced to make concessions to the

popular movement, the emperor once more resorted to the familiar expedient of a *plébiscite*, which revealed the repugnance of the towns to the imperial rule, and no less than 50,000 adverse votes in the army. He had entered upon the perilous experiment of combining imperialism, and personal rule, with constitutional freedom, and democracy. Many Frenchmen, not unfriendly to the empire, murmured at the loss of French influence, in the councils of Europe, since the Mexican catastrophe, and the sudden ascendency of Prussia. While still smarting under the failure of abortive negotiations with his great rival, for an extension of the frontiers of France, his hostility was suddenly provoked by the candidature of a prince of the house of Hohenzollern for the crown of Spain. Notwithstanding the withdrawal of the prince's claims, the emperor, urged on by long-cherished jealousies, and warlike ambition, and misled by headstrong advisers, and by a false estimate of public opinion, and of the sentiments of the German States, persisted in his quarrel, and rushed blindfold into a war with the King of Prussia.

July 1870.

July 19, 1870.

Its fatal issue.

The fatal issue of this conflict was soon declared. The French had been excited by boastful assurances of a victorious march to Berlin: but they were met with crushing defeats and disasters. The emperor's throne was shaken by his first reverses, the State being placed under the regency of the empress; and when the astounding intelligence of his capture at Sedan, with the whole of his army, reached Paris, he was at once deposed. His overthrow was accomplished, like many former revolutions, by a mob. While the legislative body was deliberating upon the measures to be

Sedan, September 1. The emperor deposed.

CHAP. XVII.

taken at this crisis, the populace, from the streets, forced their way into the chamber, and demanded the dethronement of the emperor, and the proclamation of a republic. The supporters of the government were overborne by the rioters; and the greater part of the deputies retired: when the members of the opposition who remained, supported by the clamours of the mob, declared the emperor deposed. These members, headed by Gambetta, then proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, where they proclaimed the republic, and appointed a provisional government, or government of national defence.

Fate of the first and of the second empires compared.

The second empire, like the first, had perished under military failures. The First Napoleon, having lost his crown, was conveyed by his conquerors, as a prisoner, to St. Helena. Napoleon III. was now a captive in the castle of Wilhelmshöhe. Both had been raised to power, and both had fallen, by the sword. In the one case, the Bourbons had been restored by the conquerors: in the other, the unfortunate emperor, having brought a fearful calamity upon his country, was judged by his own people. His first judges, indeed, were the mob of Paris,—or 'gentlemen of the pavement,' as they were contemptuously called by Count Bismarck: but their judgment was accepted by France. Military failures are never forgiven by Frenchmen; and men of all parties,—however opposed to a republic,—agreed that the 'Man of Sedan' could no longer rule over them.[2]

[1] 'Messieurs du pavé.'

[2] Jules Favre, in his circular to the foreign representatives of France, said the population of Paris 'has not pronounced the deposition of Napoleon III. and his dynasty: it has registered it in the name of right, justice, and public safety; and the sentence was so well ratified beforehand by the conscience of all, that no one, even among the noisy defenders of

CHAP. XVII.

The government of national defence.

France was, once more, under a republic, in presence of a terrible national danger; and, to the credit of a country so often stained with blood, it must be recorded that public order was maintained in the midst of revolution.[1] Political passions were calmed, in presence of a calamity which demanded the united action of all Frenchmen against their common enemy. The King of Prussia had declared that he made war, not against France, but against the emperor. The emperor had fallen; and hopes were cherished that an honourable peace might now be obtained. But these hopes were quickly dispelled. Jules Favre, the minisnister for foreign affairs, in his circular to the foreign representatives of France, said, 'We will not cede either an inch of territory, or a stone of our fortresses;' and upon this declaration, victorious Prussia, at once, took issue. In vain the veteran Thiers hastened from court to court, to solicit help or mediation. Concessions might still have secured a peace, of which the odium would have been laid upon the late emperor. But the leaders of the republic determined upon a desperate resistance. Their main forces had been routed, captured, or invested in their own fortresses. The victorious armies of Prussia could only be encountered by raw levies, and by scattered forces already defeated and disorganised. Prudence dictated peace: but, when a hopeless struggle was continued under the guidance of the brave, impetuous, and indefatigable Gambetta, —the heroic bravery and sacrifices of the French went

the power that was falling, raised his voice to uphold it.'—*Ann. Reg.* 1850, p. 174.

[1] The same circular says:—'Order has not been disturbed for a single moment.'

CHAP. XVII.

far to redeem the dishonour which had fallen upon their arms, at the beginning of the war. But all their efforts were vain: they were in the relentless grasp of their enemy. Their forces were everywhere defeated; and Paris, after five months of suffering, was starved into submission to the conqueror, who dictated, from Versailles, the rigorous terms of a disastrous peace.[1]

The national assembly at Bordeaux.

The government of national defence was of necessity provisional, and in the negotiations at Versailles it was insisted that the conditions of peace should be ratified by a national assembly, more fully representing France. It was accordingly decreed that such an assembly should be immediately elected by universal suffrage; and on February 13 it met at Bordeaux. Its mission was to resolve the question of peace or war. At the elections the Bonapartists, who had commenced the war, had not ventured to brave the popular wrath: the republicans, who had protracted it, to the bitter end, found little favour, save in Paris and other great cities. Hence the Legitimists, who had long been excluded from public affairs, formed a majority of the new assembly. Belonging to the first families in France;[2] commanding great influence in the several provinces, and being blameless of the recent calamities, they were trusted by the people, at this crisis. So indestructible are parties in France, that the adherents of the Bourbons were again in the ascendent.

February 13, 1871.

Rigorous conditions of the peace.

Before the meeting of the assembly the government of defence resigned, and the eminent statesman Thiers was appointed head of a new executive administration.

[1] On January 28, 1871, an armistice for three weeks was signed, which was continued from time to time. On February 26, the preliminaries of peace were signed.

[2] It was said by the Duc de Broglie that he had never met so many dukes in his life, as he found assembled at Bordeaux.

CHAP. XVII.

By his advice, the assembly ratified the preliminaries of the treaty which had, at length, been agreed upon— a cession of Alsace and Lorraine, Metz and Strasburg, a ruinous indemnity, a prolonged occupation of French soil by foreign armies, and an entry of German troops into Paris to assert their conquest of the capital. The assembly, while forced to accept these deplorable conditions, voted by acclamation the deposition of Napoleon III. and his dynasty, declaring him to be responsible for the ruin and dismemberment of France. Six Bonapartist deputies only refused to concur in this decisive resolution.

March 1, 1871.

Déposition of the emperor confirmed.

The horrors of foreign invasion were now coming to an end; but internal troubles, not less terrible, were impending. The populace of Paris had been armed during the siege; and the national guard, many of whom had already proved rebellious, had been allowed to retain their arms.[1] The entire disorganisation of labour, the prolonged sufferings and privations of the people, and the disorders of a beleaguered city, had demoralised the population of the capital,—at all times abounding in dangerous elements. Red republicans and communists had been busy in fomenting discontents, and organising their forces; committees of vigilance and revolutionary clubs had been sitting; violent harangues had been delivered; and when the siege was raised, the firm hold of civil and military authority

The Commune.

[1] 'Une partie de la garde nationale, la plus dangereuse, la plus redoutée, celle qui pendant le siége n'avait pas craint, en présence de l'étranger, sous ses yeux, sous ses bombes, de chercher à renverser par des coups de main le gouvernement de la défense nationale, cette portion haineuse et fiévreuse de la milice citoyenne n'avait point rendu les armes, et sommée de le faire, avait répondu par un refus formel aux injonctions de l'autorité.'—De Beaumont-Vassy, *Hist. de la Commune en* 1871, 16.

CHAP. XVII.

was, for a time, relaxed. No sooner had the Prussian troops marched out of Paris, than the capital was found to be in the hands of insurgents. They held Belleville, La Villette, and Montmartre: they had upwards of 400 cannon, and were supported by 100,000 national guards. Parley with them was tried in vain; and an attempt to recover the cannon miscarried.[1] Some of the troops refused to fight, and even joined the insurrection. Two generals, Clément Thomas and Lecomte, were taken prisoners, and shot by a file of national guards. On March 18, the whole city was in the hands of the insurgents; and a central committee proclaimed, from the Hôtel de Ville, the immediate election of a commune for the government of Paris.

Election of the Commune.

Communist working men were the leaders of this movement, intent upon carrying out their principles of social revolution.[2] The Commune was an offshoot of the International Society of Workmen,[3] and its chief aims were to trample upon property and the employers of labour, and to exalt workmen into the place of masters. Many of its members, and most active confederates, were foreigners. Prince Bismarck estimated that amongst them were 8,000 English, Irish, Belgians, and Italians.[4] Their designs were favoured by the political discontents of the moment. They could declaim against the surrender of Paris to the enemy; the shameful peace, and the royalist assembly which frowned upon republican deputies, and had resolved to sit at Versailles instead of Paris. So formidable was

[1] De Beaumont-Vassy, *Hist. de la Commune*, 28–39.

[2] 'Quels étaient ces hommes? c'est que chacun se demandait; comme les "hommes noirs" du poète Béranger, ces hommes rouges sortaient de dessous terre.'—Ibid. 50.

[3] Ibid. 8.

[4] Speech in the German Parliament, May 2, 1871.

the insurrection, and so crippled the strength of the government, that it was found necessary to parley with the insurgent leaders. But these attempts at conciliation were vain; and the movement was gathering force by delay. The new commune was elected, and organised;[1] and at once began to issue decrees and proclamations, like an established government. Meanwhile, the authorities at Versailles were preparing to reduce the insurgent city. But the French forces were disabled by the late war: a great many were prisoners in Germany; and Prussia had insisted upon a reduction of the military forces of the state. Hence the progress of the siege was slow; and the new commune had time to reveal its principles and the character of its administration.

March 26, 1871.

Socialist principles had been known from time immemorial.[2] They are to be traced in the ancient institutes of Menu.[3] They were recognised in the laws of Crete, of Sparta, and of Carthage.[4] Plato

Progress of socialism.

[1] 'Ces hommes, parmi lesquels on retrouvait presque tous les membres du comité central, étaient d'anciens ouvriers, ou des orateurs de clubs, ou d'anciens journalistes et gens de lettres de second ordre.'—De Beaumont-Vassy, 80.

[2] 'Les idées de la république sociale ne sont point nouvelles. Le monde les connaît depuis qu'il existe. Il les a vues surgir au milieu de toutes les grandes crises morales et sociales, en Orient comme en Occident, dans l'antiquité comme dans les temps modernes. Les deuxième et troisième siècles en Afrique, et spécialement en Egypte, pendant le travail de la propagation du christianisme, le moyen-âge dans sa fermentation confuse et orageuse, le seizième siècle, en Allemagne, dans le cours de la réforme religieuse, le dix-septième, en Angleterre, au milieu de la révolution politique, ont eu leurs socialistes et leurs communistes, pensant, parlant et agissant comme ceux de nos jours.'—Guizot, *De la Démocratie en France*, 21.

[3] Book i. sec. 100; Book viii. sec. 37, 416; Book ix. sec. 44. Franck, *Le Communisme*, 33.

[4] *Supra*, vol. i. pp. 30, 64; Aristotle, *Pol.* Book ii. ch. 7, 8, 9; Strabo, Book x.; Plutarch (Lycurgus); Sudre, *Hist. du Communisme*. ch. 2.

CHAP. XVII.

propounded them in his celebrated 'Republic;'[1] Diogenes of Sinope, in his teaching; and Sir Thomas More in his 'Utopia.' The Anabaptists reduced them to practice.[2] And they have been found in the primitive customs of some barbarous and half-civilised races.[3] In France the genius of Rousseau made them attractive and popular.[4] Morelly,[5] Mably,[6] and Babœuf[7] laboured to reduce them to a practical scheme of social life. The leaders of the first revolution avowed the doctrines of this school, and partially carried them into effect.[8] In the Jacobin club, in 1792, Robespierre, Danton, and Billaud-Varennes proclaimed that the governing power rested with the sovereign citizens alone, and that to them should be given the property of the rich. Marat preached an entire subversion of society. After August 10, 1792, socialist principles were still more generally proclaimed. 'The rich,' exclaimed Marat, 'have so long sucked the marrow of the people, that they are now suffering retribution.' The cry of the working men was to raise the condition of the poor, by relieving the rich of their superfluities. 'Everything belongs to the people, and nothing to the

[1] See Plato, by Jowett, and Grote. Aristotle, *Pol.* Book ii. ch. 1.

[2] Catron, *Hist. des Anabaptistes*; Michelet, *Mém. de Luther*; Sudre, *Hist. du Communisme*, ch. 8.

[3] See an interesting account of the Eskimo, in the *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1876, Art. 2.

[4] *Discours sur l'inégalité parmi les hommes; L'économie politique*; *Contrat social.*

[5] *Code de la Nature*, 1755; *La Basiliade.*

[6] *De la Législation*, Amsterdam, 1776.

[7] Pièces saisies à l'arrestation de Babœuf.

[8] 'Ce contrat social, qui dissout les sociétés, fut le Coran des discoureurs apprêtés de 1789, des Jacobins de 1790, des républicains de 1791, et des forcenés les plus atroces.'—Mallet Dupin.

individual,' said Isoré, one of the commissioners of the convention, at Lille.[1]

Communism. March 18, 1793.

In 1793, the convention decreed, on the motion of Barère, the right of every man to employment, graduated taxation upon the rich, and the division of the municipal lands of Paris among the poor. And much of the legislation of this period was leavened by the same principles.[2] Later writers[3] continued to maintain the like doctrines, which became more and more popular with the *ouvriers*. Disputes with the employers had embittered their feelings; and while in the revolution of 1789, the nobles and the clergy had been the objects of democratic fury, in the later revolutions of 1830 and 1848 the *bourgeoisie* had become the aristocrats, and capital was regarded as the worst form of tyranny. In 1848, the principles of socialism had been partly carried into practice;[4] and since that time they had been further extended by the International Society,[5] and by French[6] and German writers.[7] But 1871 was the first occasion upon which socialism gained the ascendant. And even now the Commune, engrossed with the de-

Socialism in the ascendant, 1871.

[1] Isoré to Bouchotte, November 4, 1793; Legros, cited by Von Sybel, iii. 229.

[2] De Martel, *Étude sur Fouché, et sur le Communisme dans la pratique, en* 1793. (1873.) Von Sybel, *Hist. of the Fr. Rev.* i. 250, iii. 220 *et seq*; Stein, *Geschichte der Socialen Bewegung in Frankreich*, 1850.

[3] Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*, &c.; Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie.*

[4] *Supra*, p. 281.

[5] *L'Internationale*, par Oscar Testut, 3. Debate in the House of Commons, April 12, 1872; Correspondence with Spain, presented to Parliament, 1872.

[6] Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété: Théorie de la propriété;* St. Beuve, *Études sur Proudhon*; Blanqui, *De l'Économie politique depuis les anciens jusqu'à nos jours;* Reybaud, *Études, &c.;* Pierre Leroux, *L'Égalité, De l'humanité*, &c.; Louis Blanc, *Organisation de Travail, &c.*

[7] Diebueck, 1847; Schulze-Delitzsch (H.), *Associationsbuch für deutsche Handwerker und Arbeiter*, 1853; Dr. Jacobi, 1850; Karl Marx, 1862; *Das Kapital*, 1867.

CHAP. XVII.

fence of the city, and embarrassed by prodigious difficulties, was unable to give practical effect to its principles.

Principles of the Commune.

Their scheme of government was the extension of independent communes throughout France; while the unity of the state was to be maintained by a voluntary association of communes.[1] Nor were these communes to be simple municipalities. They were designed to carry out the principles of socialism,—the confiscation of individual property, community of goods, and the organisation of labour. The communists wished to divide their fair country into 37,000 little sovereign states, or communes. In each, the property of the rich was to be appropriated for the use of the community: in each, the individual citizen was to be merged in the state. Frenchmen would have exchanged their country for their commune. The intellect, the arts, the industry of her people, all brought into the common stock, would have been lowered to the baser function of providing mere subsistence for the community. Her high civilisation would have been followed by another age of darkness and slavery.[2] The leaders of the movement further advocated the suppression of religious worship.[3]

[1] Proclamation, April 19, 1851.

[2] Of communism, M. Franck says:—'Il supprime la propriété, il supprime la liberté tant civile que politique, il supprime la famille. On peut dire qu'il supprime la personne humaine, et, par conséquent, la conscience morale de l'homme, pour mettre à sa place la toute-puissance, la tyrannie collective et nécessairement irresponsable de l'état.—*Le Communisme jugé par l'histoire*, pref. And again:—'L'état sera le maitre unique, absolu, des hommes et des choses, des biens et des personnes. Nous serons en plein communisme, et le communisme lui-même ne pourra s'établir et se conserver que sous la règle du despotisme. . . . . Demeuré le seul entrepreneur, le seul capitaliste, l'état sera tout, et l'individu ne sera rien, ce qui est la marque distinctive du communisme.'—Ibid. pref.

[3] De Beaumont-Vassy, 82, 83.

To meet their immediate exigencies, the Commune exacted loans from the Bank of France, and from other administrative departments, and appropriated the receipts of the *octroi*. Their confederates and followers were among the poor: their enemies were the rich and the *bourgeoisie*; and to gratify one of these classes at the expense of the other, they decreed that the rents of all lodgers, between October and April, should be remitted. The sale of articles deposited at the *mont-de-piété* was also suspended. At first there were no signs of a ferocious spirit; and the guillotine was publicly burned in the cause of humanity. But as the siege advanced, a spirit of fury and vengeance took possession of the combatants. Denouncing one another as bandits and assassins, they waged war without truce or pity.[1] The insurgents were treated as rebels; and Duval, one of their generals, being taken prisoner, and shot, the Commune threatened the most terrible reprisals. They decreed that for every communist prisoner executed by the government of Versailles, three hostages should be put to death. They arrested the archbishop of Paris, his two grand vicars, and several priests and other persons, whom they detained in prison as hostages. They declared their enmity to the memory of the great Napoleon, by the destruction of his celebrated column in the Place Vendôme, as a 'monument of barbarism, and a symbol of brute force and false glory:'[2] they demolished the

[1] The Marquis de Gallifet, in an order of the day, said:—'War has been declared by the bandits of Paris; yesterday, the day before, and to-day they have assassinated my soldiers. It is a war without truce or pity that I wage against those assassins.' The Commune called their enemies 'the banditti of Versailles.'

[2] *Journal Officiel*, April 12.

CHAP. XVII.

house of M. Thiers, and confiscated his books and works of art: they despoiled churches; and when their enemies were, at length, closing in upon them, they resolved upon a desperate vengeance. The city which they could no longer defend, should be destroyed; the conquerors should find nothing but a heap of ruins.

Paris in flames. May 23.

The word was given; and the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Finance, the Hôtel of the Quai d'Orsay, the Palace of the Legion of Honour, and other public buildings, and private houses, were in flames. The unoffending Dominicans at Arceuil were massacred. The venerable archbishop, and the

May 26.

other hostages, were hastily brought before a court martial, and shot. Numbers of priests, gendarmes, and other obnoxious persons, were seized and slaughtered. Ruffians were let loose to feed the raging conflagration with petroleum.[1] The communists had done their worst during their term of power; and it was now their turn to suffer the vengeance of their

Overthrow of the Commune.

conquerors. Overpowered by the troops from Versailles, under Marshal MacMahon, they were shot down without trial, and without mercy. Numbers of wretched women, accused of incendiarism, shared their fate. About 10,000 insurgents lost their lives; and the prisons were filled to overflowing. The trials of communist prisoners were continued when their crimes had been almost forgotten. It has been the unhappy destiny of France that most of her political conflicts

[1] 'On a trouvé sur les fédérés tués aux barricades, et on a saisi dans les perquisitions faites après la chute de la Commune, beaucoup d'ordres aussi formels que laconiques, ne laissant aucun doute sur les terribles intentions des hommes de l'Hôtel de Ville, relativement à la destruction par le feu de la malheureuse cité, qu'ils avaient condamnée d'avance, en cas de défaite, à un complet anéantissement.'—De Beaumont-Vassy, 225.

have been stained with blood; and this—the latest of a deplorable series—was as cruel and merciless as any in her dreadful annals.[1]

The republic under Thiers.

The reign of the Commune had been maintained for two anxious months; and the republic was now free to conclude its negotiations with its conquerors, and to restore order, and a settled government to the distracted country. It was a republic without a constitution, and, as it was said, without republicans. The assembly was monarchical; and the legitimists and Orleanists, if united, were masters of the State. But Thiers, the chief of the executive,—a monarchist in principle, and by his antecedents,—had become convinced that a republic was then the only possible government for France. Such being the political situation, the majority of the assembly were bent upon two main purposes,—a fusion of the royalist parties, and the prevention of a definitive constitution of the republic. The republic might be a present necessity: but they hoped that it would soon give way to a restored monarchy. They elected the distinguished chief of the executive, who had performed conspicuous services to the state, as president of the republic; and accepted him as a provisional ruler, until their scheme of a monarchy was ripe for execution.

The royalists and the Comte de Chambord.

And this scheme would assuredly have been accomplished, if the head of the house of Bourbon,—for whom the crown was destined,—had not frustrated all their efforts. But the Comte de Chambord was every inch a

[1] De Beaumont-Vassy, *Hist. de la Commune*; Dauban, *Le fond de la Société*, 1873; Sudre, *Hist. du Communisme*; Leighton, *Paris during the Commune*; Reybaud, *Études sur les Réformateurs, ou Socialistes Modernes*; Maxime du Camp, *Les prisons de Paris sous la Commune*; *Revue des Deux Mondes*, i-iv. 1877.—De Père, *Paris sous la Commune*.

CHAP. XVII.

Bourbon,—unchanged and unchangeable. He still clung to the divine right of kings: he would concede nothing to modern ideas: he refused to parley with the revolution. He lost no time in proclaiming that if called by France, he would come with his principles and his flag,—'that white flag which had been the standard of Henry IV., of Francis I., and of Joan of Arc.' Some months later he declared that 'no one would, under any pretext, obtain his consent to become the legitimate king of revolution.' Notwithstanding these discouragements, the moderate royalists were not without hopes of the ultimate triumph of their cause. The republicans were gaining ground, and the president seemed to be inclining to their side. The imperialists, recovering from their prostration, were giving signs of renewed activity. The republicans were demanding a dissolution of the assembly; and a revision of the constitution was impending, which might permanently establish the republic. The situation was critical for the royalist cause; and fresh efforts must be made to promote it. The death of the ex-emperor, which checked the immediate designs of the imperialists, revived the hopes of the royalists. One pretender to the throne had been removed; and if the claims of the two royal princes could be reconciled, their united parties were still strong enough to restore the monarchy. The Orleanist princes humbled themselves at the shrine of the *Chapelle Expiatoire* of Louis XVI., in commemorating the martyrdom of the Bourbon king; and submissive overtures were made to the Comte de Chambord.

July 5, 1871.

January 1872.

January 9, 1873.

January 21, 1873.

Meanwhile, discussions upon the new constitution were proceeding, which led to the resignation of the

Marshal MacMahon president.

president. He was succeeded by Marshal MacMahon, —once a legitimist, and lately in the confidence of the emperor,—whose sympathies were certainly not with the republic. A supreme effort was now made to effect a fusion of the royal houses. The Comte de Paris paid homage to the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf, and withdrew his claim to the throne, in favour of his royal cousin. The cousins embraced; and the desired fusion seemed assured. Throughout France, the royalists and the clergy were elated, and a restoration was thought to be at hand. But as yet, the Bourbon prince had been silent or ambiguous. Negotiations were continued; and, at length, M. Chesnelong, who had waited upon him, at Salzburg, with a deputation, reported his acceptance of the principles of liberty of conscience, equality before the law, the right of all parties to public employment, universal suffrage, and liberty of the press; the critical question of the flag being reserved for future consideration. Encouraged by these politic concessions, the royalists were preparing resolutions to submit to the assembly, at its meeting on November 5, for calling the Comte de Chambord to his hereditary throne, when all their hopes were suddenly extinguished. The Bourbon prince disclaimed his supposed concessions.[1] He had been misunderstood: he would not become the legitimist king of a revolution: he would not renounce the white flag of France—the standard of Arques and Ivry: he would submit to no conditions. The Comte de Paris had waived the claims of the house of Orleans in his favour; and now he stubbornly renounced the crown.

CHAP. XVII.

May 24, 1873.

August 5, 1873.

The royalists now turned to the president as the

Republican constitution completed.

[1] Letter to M. Chesnelong, dated Salzburg, Oct. 27.

CHAP. XVII.

only safeguard of their cause. He promised a conservative policy, while they promoted the extension of his powers; and at length the septennate was decreed.

The Septennate. December 19, 1873.

The president was secured in his rule for seven years; and such were his powers, and such the relations of parties, that he was more like a constitutional king than the chief of a republic. The strife of rival parties continued; and it was not until late in 1875 that the new constitution, embracing a senate and a chamber of deputies, was finally agreed upon. But the septennate afforded a salutary pause in the momentous political issues which still excited France. The cause of royalty was in abeyance. The heir of Napoleon III. was in his minority; and time was yet required to revive his cause and consolidate his party: but his adherents were active and confident. The republicans were gaining strength, and hoped to prevail over all pretenders to the crown. At the dissolution, in January 1876, they secured a majority in the chamber of deputies; and the most powerful section of that party, under the leadership of Gambetta, have since displayed a remarkable moderation. To all these parties the septennate continues to offer hopes of future victory; and, in the meantime, the President, secured in the possession of his powers, has been able to maintain public order and security. The state had been spared from the fear of *coups d'état*, or popular revolutions, until May 16, 1877, when France was again thrown into confusion by the sudden dismissal of the republican ministry of M. Jules Simon, followed by the dissolution of the chamber of deputies, and a vigorous policy of reaction.

May 16, 1877.

Political future of France.

And still the destinies of France are hanging in the balance. After ninety years of revolutions, without

liberty: after bloody civil wars and cruel proscriptions: after multiplied experiments in republican, imperial, and monarchical institutions, who shall venture to forecast her political future? Her democratic excesses have discredited the cause of popular government: the usurpations and bad faith of her rulers have shaken confidence in law and order. She has advanced the liberties of other states, without securing her own. She has aimed at social equality: but,—save in the levelling spirit of her people,—she is as far from its attainment as ever. The fearful troubles through which she has passed have checked her prosperity, demoralised her society, and arrested the intellectual growth of her gifted people. Yet is she great and powerful; and high—if not the first—in the scale of civilised nations. Blessed with recuperative powers, beyond those of any other state, she is rapidly effacing the scars of war and revolution; and, profiting by the errors of the past, she may yet found a stable government, enjoying the confidence of all classes, and worthy of her greatness and her enlightenment.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENGLAND.

CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY—RACES BY WHICH IT WAS PEOPLED—CELTS, ROMANS, ANGLO-SAXONS, DANES, AND NORMANS—GROWTH OF ENGLISH LIBERTIES—INCREASING POWER OF PARLIAMENT—SOCIAL CHANGES—REACTION UNDER THE TUDORS—THE REFORMATION—THE PURITANS—THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH THE TURNING POINT IN THE POLITICAL FORTUNES OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XVIII.

History of England that of liberty, not of democracy.

LET us now turn from France to England,—her neighbour and ancient rival. The history of the one, in modern times, is the history of democracy, not of liberty: the history of the other is the history of liberty, not of democracy. It is the history of popular rights and franchises acquired, maintained, extended, and developed, without subverting the ancient constitution of the state. It is the history of reforms, and not of revolutions.[1] It is the history of a monarchy, under which the people have acquired all the freedom of a republic.[2] It is the history of a country in which the

[1] 'Il en est de même dans tout le cours de l'histoire d'Angleterre; jamais aucun élément ancien ne périt complètement, jamais aucun élément nouveau ne triomphe tout-à-fait, jamais aucun principe spécial ne parvient à une domination exclusive. Il y a toujours développement simultané des différentes forces, transaction entre leurs prétentions et leurs intérêts.'—Guizot, *Hist. de la Civ.* 335.

[2] Thiers, speaking in the National Assembly, at Versailles, on June 8, 1871, declared 'that he found greater liberty existing in London than in Washington.'—*Times*, June 10, 1871. In a recent political satire, the constitutional monarchy has been irreverently described as 'a democratic republic, tempered by snobbism and corruption.'—*Prince Florestan.*

forms of a monarchy, an aristocracy, and a republic, have been combined in a manner and to an extent without example elsewhere.[1]

Character of the country.

Britain has been marked out, by nature, as the home of a maritime and industrial people. Her insular position familiarises a large part of her population with the sea; and her shores, indented with bays, creeks, estuaries, and natural harbours, are singularly favourable to navigation. Her geographical position commands an extended commercial intercourse with other nations. On the east, she stretches out towards the Netherlands, and the north of Europe. On the south, she approaches the shores of France and Spain. On the west, the broad Atlantic opens to her the commerce of the world.

The climate.

Her climate, less genial than that of France, is temperate, healthful, and invigorating. Variable, humid, and often inclement, it is exempt from the extremes of heat and cold, which affect many lands otherwise more favoured.[2] It is such as to promote the strength, vigour, and activity of the stalwart races who at different times have peopled the country. This northern land was not destined to be the retreat of ease and luxury: but was fitted for war and the chase, for deeds of daring and hardship, for bold enterprises, for struggles with man and nature, for stubborn resolution, for an earnest faith, and for a manly spirit of freedom.

The soil.

The soil is generally fertile. Not blessed with the rich and varied abundance of France, its pastures are

[1] M. le Play says England 'is patriarchal in the home, democratic in the parish, aristocratic in the country, and monarchical in the state.'—*La Constitution d'Angleterre*, 1876.

[2] 'Cœlum crebris imbribus, ac nebulis fœdum: asperitas frigorum abest.'—Tacitus, *Agricola*, 12.

CHAP. XVIII.

renowned for the rearing of flocks and herds, and for the breeding of horses: its tillage yields a fair return to the skill and labour of the husbandman. The products of the earth are not to be won, as in more favoured climes, by an easy reliance upon the bounties of nature: but are earned by skill and watchful husbandry, and by the sweat of the brow. The tiller of the soil must be no sluggard, if he would prosper in his work.

Its scenery.

The natural aspects of the country are varied and attractive. Hill and dale, and woodland, the picturesque glade, the winding river, the spangled meadow, the breezy down and common,—such are its characteristic features. Nature has made it the fitting home of a people who delight in a country life. The Teutonic races, even in the most inhospitable regions of the north, shrank from the confinement of towns; and in Britain they found a land which invited them to dwell in the midst of its cheerful scenes. They loved it, and helped to make it what it is. They built their homesteads on sunny slopes, and in smiling valleys; and sought pleasure in the chase, and in the manly pursuits and duties of rural life. In no other country, is the rustic home so redolent of comfort and contentment. Nowhere has the careful art of the husbandman and gardener done such justice to the gifts of nature. In every generation, the land has been improved and beautified by culture, and the loving taste of its inhabitants; and while trade and manufactures have massed large populations in the towns, the ideal home of the Englishman is ever in the country. The Frenchman is never so happy as in a town: the Englishman pines in the narrow street, and exults in the free air

of the hill-side, the river, and the sea-coast. And this abiding love of country life has exercised a remarkable influence upon the society, and the political destinies of England.

Minerals.

Another physical characteristic of Britain is her mineral wealth. No country in Europe is so rich in coal and iron, in tin, lead and copper. Nature, which had made her a maritime State, had also destined her to be the seat of mining and manufacturing industry. But the treasures of the earth could only be acquired by labour, by dangers, and by endurance. The perils of the mine are no less fearful than the perils of the deep.[1] Whether at sea, or on land, it has been the lot of great numbers of our countrymen to brave hardships, exhausting toil, and the loss of life and health, in pursuit of their useful callings. And in every form of labour, their strength and steadfastness have made them the foremost workers of the world. Such has been the fibre, and such the moral force, of the British people, that they have steadily advanced in civilisation, in social development, and in political freedom.

The Celts.

It is not among the earlier Celtic races who peopled the land,[2] that we need search for the germs of British freedom. But, though little advanced in civilisation, they already gave promise of the industrial destinies of England, their productive tin-mines being known to the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans.

The Romans. 56 B.C.–418 A.D.

The conquest of Britain, by the Romans, intro-

[1] Her Majesty has lately been graciously pleased to include miners, and other workers on land, in the honours of the Albert medal, which had previously been confined to the reward of acts of heroic courage in saving life at sea.—*London Gazette*, May 1, 1877.

[2] They are enumerated and described in Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 39–44.

CHAP. XVIII.

duced a higher civilisation, a vigorous administration, and some free institutions, which survived their rule. To build and inhabit fortified cities had been the custom of that great people, in Italy, and in every country conquered by their arms. In Britain they founded walled towns, throughout the land and on the coasts, as centres of military defence, association, and trade. London, Canterbury, Dover, Winchester, York, Chester, and many other cities and towns, which have since risen to importance, owe their origin to the civilising genius of the Romans. They had come as conquerors, but settled as colonists. Military conquest was followed by immigration: Roman citizens from many lands,—Germans, Belgians, Gauls, Spaniards, and Thracians,[1]—men of different races, but all subject to the laws, and speaking the language of Imperial Rome,—flocked to this northern land, which offered them a new field for conquest and enterprise. Britain was reduced to a Roman province; and Roman laws, institutions, and customs were everywhere established. In the towns, municipalities were founded upon the republican model of Rome and the Italian cities;[2] and as the towns increased in population, and were recruited by the continued immigration of Teutonic and other races, they became almost independent communities.[3] If these institutions did not survive the overthrow of the Roman power, their traditions were not wholly lost:[4] while

Roman towns.

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 253–257, and ch. v.

[2] Ibid. ch. xii. See *supra*, vol. i. 153.

[3] Wright, 391.

[4] 'We trace here and there the preservation of Roman power, and Roman principles, and we trace still more distinctly almost every municipal right, and municipal power, which were, at a later period, guaranteed by royal or other charter, and which, by comparison with the privileges

town life, with which they were associated, was encouraged among the Saxons, whose tastes were otherwise rural.

Influence of Rome upon later times.

The life of a highly civilised people, who dwelt in the land for four centuries, cannot be effaced from the history of England. Supplanted by races less advanced, their ancient civilisation was trodden down: their arts and learning were lost: even Christianity, which was taking root among them, relapsed into Paganism. The Romans left fewer traces of their rule in Britain than in some other lands: but in the social revival of later times, their continued influence is not to be ignored. We may even be allowed to speculate how far the admixture of Roman blood, and the character and example of that great people, may have moulded the political destinies of England. The characteristics which distinguished ancient Rome,—a stern love of liberty, a prolonged constitutional development, a strong and steadfast purpose, world-wide conquests, and a peculiar power of governing subject races,—have since been illustrated in the history of England. No other modern State has presented so many points of resemblance;[1] and Englishmen may proudly ascribe to Roman ancestry and tutelage, some part in the historic glories of their country.

The Roman legions, weakened by the decay of the Western Empire, by revolts, and by internal divisions,

and government of corporate towns in France and Italy, and elsewhere on the continent, we learn to have been derived from the political constitution of the Romans.'—Ibid. 454. On the other hand, Mr. Freeman says: 'The municipal institutions of the Roman towns utterly perished: no dream of ingenious men is more groundless than that which seeks to trace the franchises of English cities to a Roman source.'—*Hist. of Norman Conquest*, i. 17.

[1] See *supra*, vol. i. p. 134 *n.*

CHAP. XVIII.

were at length overcome by the Picts and Scots; and the Celts were once more supreme in their ancient home. But they soon found new masters in the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. In their earlier emigrations these Teutonic races appear to have found friends and allies in kindred tribes, who had already settled under the protection of the Romans.[1] But they afterwards descended upon the shores, as enemies and conquerors; and pushed on their conquests, by fire and sword, throughout the land. They came from the north of Europe, from Schleswig, Holstein, and Friesland, from the countries between the Rhine and the Oder, and from Jutland. Akin to the hardy races that had peopled the Netherlands, they were natural-born seamen, and braced to adventures by the hardships and dangers of their northern homes.

449 A.D.

Anglo-Saxon conquests.

While the towns were thus being peopled by the mixed races of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon migrations, the country was occupied by the new invaders. They drove out or slew the Celtic inhabitants, or reduced them to slavery;[2] and the chiefs took possession

[1] Wright, *The Celt*, &c., 393–396.

[2] The Anglo-Saxon conquest is generally described as one of extermination: but it may be doubted whether the extinction of the Celts in the conquered districts, was so complete as the testimony of historians, confirmed by the evidence of language, would imply. It must be remembered that the invaders came in boats, ill-suited for the transport of entire families, and that the greater part were probably young adventurers, without incumbrance. After the earlier invasions, a more complete emigration followed; but there are some grounds for believing that the English have more Celtic blood in their veins than is usually supposed.—See Nicholas, *The Pedigree of the English People*, third edition. 'The women would doubtless be largely spared: but as far as the male sex is concerned, we may feel sure that death, emigration, or personal slavery, were the only alternatives which the vanquished found at the hands of our fathers.'—Freeman, *Hist. of Norman Conquest*, i. 18.

of the land, upon which they settled with their households and followers. For three centuries they continued to press forward their settlements, driving the Celts further to the north and to the west,—to Scotland, to Wales, and to Cornwall.[1] In no other parts of the Roman Empire, had Teutonic races achieved so complete a conquest. They made the land their own, in name, in language, in nationality, and in freedom. They changed a Roman province into a free Teutonic State.

Teutonic laws and customs.

Everywhere the Anglo-Saxons carried with them their own Teutonic laws and customs;[2] and it is to these that we must mainly look for the origin of English institutions. Their society was as primitive as that of the ancient Greeks. Their kings[3] and princes claimed descent from the god Woden: the nobles, or 'eorls,' were the chiefs of their tribes, in war and peace: the priests presided at the pagan sacrifices; and the people were divided into freemen and slaves.[4] Their customs were remarkable for the important place assigned to the community. The king's title was hereditary in certain families, but subject to personal election by the witenagemót, by whom he could also be deposed. He enjoyed many prerogatives and privi-

[1] The occupation of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in the north, and of Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Herefordshire, and Shropshire, being effected at a later period, when the rage of conquest had somewhat subsided, and the hostility of the two races had been abated by the common profession of the Christian faith, the Celts, or Welsh, as they were called, were not driven out.

[2] See *supra*, vol. i. p. 224–226.

[3] 'The Saxons had no kings at home; but they create kings in Britain.' —Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 66. See also Freeman, *Hist. of Norman Conquest*, i. 73, and App. K.

[4] Of these there were two classes,—the cultivating serf and he absolute slave.

CHAP. XVIII.

leges, and extensive possessions: but he was a constitutional sovereign, bound to govern justly, and according to the laws. Of the nobles, some derived their rank from descent, but the greater part from service under the crown, as ealdormen and thegns. And, when the Anglo-Saxons had accepted the Christian faith, their bishops and abbots took their places among the nobles, as councillors of the king, and members of the local and national assemblies.

Free institutions.

In the mark, the township, the tithing, and the parish, the principles of local representation and self-government were maintained in the gemót.[1] Every village was a little commonwealth. In the burh-gemót, the hundred-moot, and the shire-moot, the freeholders bore their part in local administration and judicature; and in the several kingdoms of the heptarchy, and afterwards in the united realm, there was the supreme witena-gemót, or meeting of the wise, by whose advice and consent the king made laws for his people, levied taxes, exercised supreme judicature, and made grants of land. These assemblies deliberated upon affairs of State, and

[1] 'The vestry is the representative of the *gemot*, with which it was once identical.'—Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 91.

The mark or township 'was an organised and self-acting group of Teutonic families, exercising a common proprietorship over a definite tract of land, its mark, cultivating its domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce. It is described in Tacitus, in the "Germany," as the "Vicus:" it is well known to have been the proprietary and even the political unit of the earliest English society.'—Maine, *Village Communities*, 10.

'The village community of India exhibits resemblances to the Teutonic township which are much too strong and numerous to be accidental. . . It has the same double aspect of a group of families united by the assumption of common kinship, and of a company of persons exercising joint ownership over land.'—Ibid. 12. See also ibid. 61, 62, 81, 82, 120, 133. Freeman, *Hist. Norman Conquest*, i. 83.

questions of war and peace. They were not representative: but the freemen assisted at their deliberations, according to the primitive customs of their race; and shouted approval or dissent. The Saxon witenagemót has been universally accepted as the origin of the parliaments of later times.[1] But as the kingdom extended, the voice of the freeman was rarely heard in the national councils. He could still attend the moot of the hundred or the shire: but without representation, the distant assembly of barons, prelates, and thegns was far beyond his reach.

The Danes. 787–958.

The Anglo-Saxons had long been masters of the country: their society was advancing in security and civilisation: they had been enlightened and refined by the Christian Church; and their institutions had assumed a national character, when they were threatened with the same fate as that of the Celtic races whom they had overthrown. The Scandinavian Danes, from Denmark and Norway, descended upon their coasts, and overran their peaceful towns and villages. They were pirates and marauders, and they were heathens. They burned and plundered churches and monasteries: they destroyed, with the brutal ignorance of barbarians, the cherished treasures of a more civilised people; and they pushed on their conquests, till more than half of England had fallen under their rule. The civilisation of the Romans had perished under the conquering Saxons; and now the civilisation of the Saxons was endangered by the ruder Danes. But the Danes, arrested in their conquests by

[1] 'Alone among the political assemblies of the greater States of Europe, the Parliament of England can trace its unbroken descent from the Teutonic institutions of the earliest times. . . No other nation, as a nation, can show the same unbroken continuity of political being.'— *Freeman's Comp. Pol.* 46, 47.

CHAP. XVIII.

Alfred the Great, accepted the Christian faith. They were of kindred northern races: they were governed by the like customs and traditions; and, gradually mingling with the earlier settlers, they formed part of the great English people. At a later period they renewed their conquests, and Danish kings ruled over the fair realm of England: but the laws and customs of the Saxons were little changed; and when the old line of native kings was restored, in the person of Edward the Confessor, the Danes had left few traces of their rule, save in the names of places in which they dwelt, and in the mixture of their northern blood, with that of the races which they had overcome. Their fibre was even harder than that of the Saxons: their independence was no less resolute; and in the sturdy races of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, and other northern counties, which have since been forward in the industrial and political development of England, we may recognise the descendants of Danish conquerors.

1013–1042.

The Norman Conquest. 1066.

The Norman conquest wrought more serious changes in the social and political destinies of England. The Normans, descended from a strong northern stock,—akin to the Saxons and the Danes,—had been civilised by their settlement in a more genial clime, and by intercourse with their polished neighbours in France. They were more advanced than the Saxons, in the arts of peace and war: but in their laws and customs, liberty found scant recognition. They ruled England as conquerors, and wherever they met with resistance, they pursued their enemies with merciless severity. But William the Conqueror accepted the crown as successor to the English kings: he strove to maintain the laws of Edward the Confessor; and it formed no part of his de-

sign to overthrow the institutions of his new domain. Yet the conquest introduced essential changes in the social and political relations of the rulers and the people, and in the administration of the laws. Of these, the greatest was effected by the appropriation and tenure of the lands. William rewarded his followers by prodigious grants of the conquered territories: he retained large possessions as the property of the crown; and where he spared native owners, he brought them into subjection as vassals to himself, or other feudal superiors of the Norman race.

Norman feudalism.

Military service was the condition under which the entire soil of England was henceforth to be enjoyed by its owners. This strict feudalism at once increased the power of the Crown, and of the nobles. The great landowners were the king's vassals: while their own feudal rights made them complete masters of the people. Feudalism under the Saxons had been patriarchal: it had grown out of the relations of the family and the tribe: but feudalism under the Normans, was a stern military organisation, which bound all the subjects of the realm to serve under the standards of the king and his barons. The most obnoxious characteristics of continental feudalism were now displayed. The Saxon nobles had lived in simple dwellings, in the midst of their kinsmen and people. The Normans dwelt in fortified castles, defended with fosse and drawbridge, with battlements and loopholes: they surrounded themselves with armed retainers, and dominated roughly over their neighbours. They were foreigners; and they lived as in an enemy's country. They plundered the peasants: they waged war upon one another; and they laid waste the land with violence and rapine.

CHAP. XVIII.

Political changes.

This social change was naturally accompanied by political innovations no less notable. To weaken the nobles, the Conqueror continued the gemóts of the hundred and the shire: but, the scheme of government being purely feudal, the witenagemót gave place to a great council of barons, prelates, and abbots, who were summoned as tenants-in-chief of the crown. The people had no voice in their deliberations: the realm belonged to the king and his vassals; and the commons were no longer within the pale of the constitution. All the high offices were filled with foreigners; and Englishmen were treated as a conquered race.

The crown and the people.

But the Norman rule, however adverse to popular liberties, was not long maintained without serious inroads upon its scheme of military government. The king found his vassals too powerful for the security of his crown; whilst the barons were ever struggling against his prerogatives. Neither power singly could overcome the other. Hence both alike looked to the people for support. William Rufus overcame his unruly barons by the aid of his subjects, to whom he promised a redress of grievances. Henry I. gave the people a charter of liberties, and promised to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor. To London, and many other towns, he granted municipal charters. Henry II. also favoured the commonalty. He reduced the power of the barons, by judicial and administrative reforms: he demolished their dreaded castles: he overcame them by force of arms; and, while enlarging the prerogatives of the crown, he extended the privileges of the people. By commuting military services for scutage, he was enabled to raise forces independently of the barons; and, by the 'assize of arms,' he superseded the

baronial levies, by a national militia under his own direct command. By these measures the domination of feudalism was arrested. And in his reign, the fusion of the Normans with the English was nearly completed; and the rule of the foreigner was no longer a scourge to the people. England was restored to the English; and their social freedom and political influence were extended by the absorption of the dominant race.[1]

The barons and the people.

So far the crown had received support from the people against the barons. At a later period, the barons and the Church were aided by the people, in extorting the Great Charter from King John. Hitherto the barons had fought for themselves alone: now they became the national leaders in maintaining the liberties of England. But society was not yet sufficiently advanced to ensure the enjoyment of liberties so extended. The crown, the nobles, and the Church were powerful: the country was disturbed by disorders and civil wars; and the people were still too weak to assert their rights. But the Great Charter was appealed to as the basis of English freedom: it was confirmed again and again;[2] and, while often violated, its principles were accepted as the constitutional law of England.

Magna Charta. 1215.

Representation of the commons. 1265.

Further contests between the crown and the barons continued to advance the rights of the people; and it was to Simon de Montfort, who led the armed barons against Henry III., that the commons first owed their representation in parliament.

[1] Mr. Freeman says: 'The older and stronger elements still survived, and, in the long run, they again made good their supremacy.'—*Hist. Norman Conquest*, intro. 1.

[2] 'Il y en eut plus de trente confirmations entre le xiii. et le xvi. siècles.'—Guizot, *Hist. de la civilization en Europe*, 314.

CHAP. XVIII.

Increasing power of Parliament. 1295.

In the reign of Edward I., the commons acquired a more settled place in the legislature: knights of the shire being regularly summoned to represent the counties, and citizens and burgesses to represent the cities and towns. But as yet their influence was little felt. They accepted their mission with reluctance, and shrank from the costly honour of obeying the royal summons to appear and be duly taxed. The barons still took the lead in resisting abuses of the king's prerogative. To them was mainly due a renewed confirmation of the Great Charter, and the denial of the king's claim to raise taxes otherwise than with the consent of the realm. The parliaments of Edward II. insisted upon the dismissal of obnoxious ministers, upon the redress of grievances before the granting of subsidies to the crown, and upon the legislative rights of the commons. And, further, a parliament of this reign assumed the right of deposing the king, for the violation of his coronation oath, and other offences,—a precedent to be followed in the case of Richard II., and again, on a more memorable occasion, in 1688. These spirited acts, though mainly the work of the barons, extended the constitutional rights of parliament. Under Edward III., the two houses assumed their present form; and the House of Commons acquired an independent place in the councils of the realm. It denounced abuses, it impeached ministers, it insisted upon the annual calling of parliaments, it re-affirmed the principle that to raise money without the consent of parliament was illegal, and it maintained the freedom of elections. It was now fully established that every law required the concurrence of king, lords, and commons, and that it was the undoubted right of parliament to advise the king

1307-8.

1327.

1376.

in matters concerning peace and war. The principles of political freedom were established.

Under Richard II., the commons insisted upon their right, not only to vote subsidies, but to limit their appropriation, and to examine public accountants; and they exercised their right of inquiring into public abuses, and impeaching ministers of the crown. The Parliament also deposed the king himself, for his 'notorious demerits;' and furnished another precedent for the revolution of 1688. The same bold and independent spirit was displayed by the commons, under Henry IV. and Henry V.

Political and social progress in the fourteenth century.

The parliamentary history of the fourteenth century foreshadowed the momentous movements of the seventeenth. Liberties were then acquired which could never be wholly overthrown. The prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of parliament, were defined; and the monarchy was limited and constitutional. These political changes were accompanied by a remarkable development of English society. The commons were enabled to assume a more important place in the government of the State, by the increasing influence of the commonalty, throughout the country. The ranks of the barons were thinned by civil wars, and failures in the succession; while the number of country gentlemen, yeomen, and tenants was continually on the increase. The towns were making rapid advances in wealth and prosperity: the burgesses had been trained in the arts of self-government, and emboldened by civic freedom. At the same time, England was sharing in the revival of learning, for which the age was remarkable, throughout Europe: her language was assuming a national character; and the

CHAP. XVIII.

universities were stimulating a taste for classical literature and philosophy. In every aspect, society was advancing; and its claims to political power were maintained by the increasing boldness of the House of Commons.

Wycliffe and religious inquiry.

Meanwhile, religious and social changes were advancing, which gravely affected the political destinies of England. The bold spirit and genius of Wycliffe were laying the foundations of the Protestant reformation. He stirred the minds of scholars, churchmen, and citizens to a new religious thought: he exposed the abuses of the Church of Rome, and shook its traditional doctrines and authority. His followers, the Lollards, began the long strife between nonconformity and the united forces of Church and State; and the people were awakened to controversies which have not yet ceased to disturb the minds and consciences of Christians. The faith of considerable numbers was already severed from that of the State Church. The Lollards,—the parents of Puritanism,—by inveighing against the Church, and exposing the abuses of the clergy, promoted the spirit of religious revolt which, in another age, was the support of the Reformation. Their creed, founded upon the lives of the early Christians, and affected by the social discontents of the time, was not without the taint of communism. They were punished without mercy, and their sect was repressed with an iron hand: but the conflict between civil and ecclesiastical power on one side, and nonconformity on the other, was to be resumed hereafter, upon less unequal terms.

1366–1384.

Decay of feudalism.

While society was aroused to religious thought, it was convulsed by the decay of feudalism, and the rise

of new agricultural classes. Serfdom had gradually given way to improved social relations; and the soil was beginning to be cultivated, as in modern times, by tenant farmers, by freeholders, and copyholders, and by free labourers. Changes so important in the relations of landowners to the cultivators of the soil, could not be effected without serious disturbance. The fourteenth century was marked, in other countries, by collisions between feudalism and a growing society;[1] and the like conflicts arose in England. The gradual emancipation and escape of serfs had caused a great scarcity of labourers, which was aggravated by the depopulation of the country,—in common with the rest of Europe,—by the plague, or 'black death.' The landowners were not prepared to submit to the operation of these natural causes: but took vigorous measures for the recovery of their feudal rights, and the securing of forced labour. Serfs who had been set free, or had taken refuge in the towns, were again reduced to servitude; and free labourers, forbidden to leave their own parish, were bound to serve their employers, at wages fixed by statute. These high-handed measures, to restore the hateful yoke of feudalism, provoked a passionate resistance.

1348.

Statutes of labourers. 1349–1350.

Stung with a sense of oppression and wrong, and suffering from the harsh rule of their masters, the orderly and patient peasantry were goaded into a formidable revolt. For the first time, in our history, we discover a fierce hatred of nobles and gentlemen, and a startling assertion of levelling principles. John Ball, a Kentish priest, preached doctrines of social equality,

Popular discontents.

[1] *Supra*, p. 88–90.

CHAP. XVIII.

as bold as any which were taught, four centuries later, by the revolutionists of France. The popular feeling of the time was expressed in the familiar couplet :—

'When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?'

The gentlemen of England were oppressing the poor; and their claims were rudely questioned. These discontents were influenced by an iniquitous poll-tax; and at length an alarming insurrection burst out under the leadership of the celebrated Wat Tyler. This revolt against feudalism, and the injustice of feudal law-givers, was marked by some of the excesses of the French Jacquerie.[1] Manor-houses were burned: manorial records were destroyed: obnoxious lawyers were murdered: the primate, and two of the chief officers concerned in the levy of the poll-tax, were beheaded on Tower Hill. But neither in the revolt itself, nor in its suppression, was there an approach to the savagery of contemporary France.

Wat Tyler's insurrection. 1381.

Throughout these times, the commons had been advancing in influence; and had maintained the due authority of their order in the councils of the State. But a period of reaction was at hand, when the power of the commons sensibly declined. Several causes contributed to this reaction. The commons were still the weakest estate of the realm; and they were at the mercy of the crown, the nobles, and the church. Whichever of these powers happened to be in the ascendent, the commons inevitably suffered, except when their aid was sought by one of these rival powers. In the reign of Henry VI., the barons had recovered much of their former domination: they were jealous of

Reaction against the commons.

[1] *Supra*, 88.

the growing influence of the commons; and such, for a time, was the weakness of the crown, and of the church, that they had no need of an alliance with the popular forces. By narrowing the old freehold franchise of the counties to 40*s.* freeholders, and by disfranchising the leaseholders and copyholders, they became masters of the county representation. Meanwhile a similar reaction was at work in the boroughs. The franchises of the burgesses had been gradually restricted; and their municipal and electoral privileges were monopolised by select oligarchies. Everywhere, barons and landowners were acquiring a dominant influence in elections. The commons were becoming the creatures of their crown and the nobles, rather than representatives of the people. Armed barons dominated in the country, and in the Parliament. That there were grave discontents among the people was betrayed by the insurrection under Jack Cade: but the commonalty were held in safe subjection. 1430. 1450.

Wars of the Roses.

The rivalries of the houses of York and Lancaster, however, entirely changed the balance of political power. In the wars of the White and Red Roses, all England was convulsed by the bloody strife: the barons were divided into hostile camps; and the flower of the English nobility perished on the battle-field, or on the scaffold.[1] Feudalism was crushed; and the crown reigned supreme over a prostrate realm. The armed barons, who alone could hold it in check, were no more; and the people were not yet sufficiently

[1] 'I take it, after the battle of Tewkesbury, a Norman baron was almost as rare a being, in England, as a wolf is now.'—*Coningsby.*

'Of the shattered aristocracy of England, only twenty-nine presented themselves when Henry called his first Parliament; and many of these were recent creations.'—Forster: *The Grand Remonstrance*, 68.

CHAP. XVIII.

strong to assert their rights. Accustomed to rely upon the barons, as leaders, they were without union or force, in opposition to the power of the crown. The land-owners, who had succeeded the barons in territorial influence, were engaged in a bitter strife with their discontented peasantry, and were in no mood to become popular leaders: but looked to the Crown for support. And the Church, alarmed by heresies and by her own unpopularity, was glad to link her fortunes with those of the ruling power. The liberties of England, acquired by so many struggles, seemed to have been suddenly lost in the absolutism of Edward IV. Throughout Europe, the kingly power was rising at this period, upon the ruins of feudalism; and the prospects of freedom appeared to be no more promising in England, than in Spain, in France, or in Germany. The authority of Parliament was now set at naught. It was rarely assembled: confiscations had made the king comparatively independent of subsidies; and, with the advice of his council, he assumed to make laws, and levy taxes. Benevolences and forced loans again formed part of the royal finance: arbitrary imprisonments, and judicial murders, marked the rule of an absolute king. The popular pretensions of Richard III. caused a brief revival of the influence of Parliaments: but Henry VII. confirmed the absolutism of Edward IV. Parliaments were put aside; and the royal miser relied upon prerogative to fill his treasury with benevolences, fines, and other exactions.

Absolutism of Henry VIII.

The reign of Henry VIII. was no less opposed to public liberty. The character of the king, and the peculiar circumstances of his time, alike impelled him to strain his prerogatives. By nature a tyrant, his strife with the Church of Rome, and his own unruly passions,

gave full sway to his despotism. Other kings had renounced the interference of parliaments: but they had been controlled by a council of prelates and nobles. Henry put aside his council and exercised his vast prerogatives, in Church and State, with the aid of a single confidential minister. Yet he could not always prevail over the rights and liberties of his subjects. While served by the politic Wolsey, he never summoned a parliament save for the raising of subsidies: but he found the commons stubborn in resisting extravagant demands; and when he resorted to the old expedient of benevolences, he was threatened by the resistance of the people. The traditions of liberty were still able to prevail over absolutism. 1523–1524.

He effects the Reformation.

But when the king was heated by opposition to his divorce, by his fierce conflict with the Church of Rome, and by his singular matrimonial inconstancies, the selfish and cruel tyrant was revealed.[1] Queens, nobles, prelates, and faithful statesmen perished on the scaffold: no power could withstand his lust or his anger: the church was struck down: laws and liberty bowed before the will of the despot. In repelling the jurisdiction of the Pope, the royal supremacy was established, which made the king absolute master of the church. He was at once king and pope.[2] By nominating the bishops, and claiming to depose them, he made them his creatures: he bridled the convocation: he dictated the preaching of the clergy: he curbed them in his ecclesiastical courts: he assumed to determine the religion of the State and of his people. No longer afraid of 1534.

[1] Mr. Froude's able defence of Henry has not affected the judgment of history, upon his true character.

[2] In the vulgar phrase of the time, he was 'a king with a pope in his belly.'

CHAP. XVIII.

parliaments, he invited them to act as convenient instruments of his will. They passed the Act of Supremacy: they sanctioned the suppression of the monasteries: they registered acts of attainder: they created new treasons and felonies: they clothed the royal mandates in the recognised forms of English law. They were associated with the king in every act of the great reformation. But while doing his bidding, they shared, and represented, the religious feelings of considerable numbers of their countrymen, who, scandalised by the abuses of the clergy, and stirred by the religious controversies of the time, were prepared to accept the ecclesiastical changes which their rulers were bringing about. The independence of parliament was overborne in the excitement of so great a crisis.

Increased power of the crown.

The power of the crown was increased by the prodigious wealth of the church, which was now at its disposal. The great nobles who revolted against the reformation were slain, or brought to the block; and the last representatives of the old feudalism were destroyed. The new nobles were creatures of the king, enriched by the plunder of the church, and ready instruments of the royal will. The lords spiritual, already Henry's humble servants, were bound up with him in the great work of reforming the church, and changing the religion of the country. The commons, in great part, nominees of the crown, were also led to support prerogative, by their earnestness as reformers. The courts of justice were as ready as the parliament to uphold the king's strong measures; while the royal council was usurping an extraordinary judicature, untrammelled by the liberal doctrines of the common law. Everywhere prerogative was paramount. Royal proclamations assumed the force

of statutes; and loans and benevolences were levied like lawful subsidies.

Course of the Reformation.

Throughout the further course of the religious revolutions of the sixteenth century, the passionate impulses of the movement continued adverse to civil and religious liberty. The reformation of Henry was completed under Edward VI. Some of his absolute powers were renounced: but the reforms of the church were carried out with no less violence and disregard for law; while the zeal of the reformers hurried them into the deplorable policy of persecution. The Catholic reaction under Queen Mary was marked by the same arbitrary power, and by a more resolute persecution. Parliament, which had concurred in the reformation, was now prompt to undo its own work. The Catholic faith was restored: the State humbled itself before the Holy See: but the parliament, while lending itself to this sudden reaction, resisted the more violent and bigoted measures of the queen, and displayed a spirit of independence which had been rarely shown in the two last reigns. Happily this bloody reign was short. Hundreds of Protestants perished at the stake: but before their faith could be utterly cast down, another Protestant queen was preparing to restore it for ever, as the religion of the State. For the fourth time, within the life of a single generation, the national faith was changed by the crown and the parliament, without the general consent of the people.

Frequent changes of religion.

1531–1559.

Reign of Elizabeth.

But the long reign of Elizabeth proved the turning point in the political fortunes of England. Not less resolute than her predecessors in maintaining her prerogatives, she found herself opposed by popular forces to which she was sometimes constrained to submit. When parliaments had done their work in the religious

CHAP. XVIII.

revolutions of the age, the queen, dreading their intrusion in affairs of State, called them together as rarely as possible. She levied taxes by prerogative: she raised money by the grant of monopolies: she invaded the province of the legislature by royal proclamations. By the creation and revival of boroughs, the influence of the crown had been largely increased. But when she was forced to meet her parliaments, they displayed a temper long since unknown. The commons asserted their privileges,—freedom of speech, freedom from arrest, the determining matters of election, and the right to discuss affairs of State. They successfully resisted the grant of monopolies. For more than a hundred years, their political powers had been in abeyance; and now they were about to be recovered and extended. Prerogative was safe in the strong hands of Elizabeth: but new social forces were rapidly changing the balance of political power.

Social changes. Nobles and country gentlemen.

With the decline of feudalism, English society had acquired an extraordinary development. The nobles, enjoying few invidious privileges, were raised little above the country gentlemen: their sons and daughters married freely into the families of their country neighbours; and their descendants were soon lost in the ranks of the commonalty. As an estate of the realm, they formed a support to the crown: but they also gave importance and strength to the people. Country gentlemen had succeeded the feudal barons, as a proprietary class, and their relations with the people were essentially changed. No longer relying upon feudal services for their support, and for the cultivation of the soil, they lived upon the rental of their estates, while the soil was tilled by farmers, yeomen, and free labourers. The gloomy castles of feudal times were succeeded by

cheerful and elegant country houses. New leaders of the people were multiplied throughout the land. Enriched by the division of the old baronial estates, and by the spoils of the church, they were wealthy and prosperous. But they were not set up above the people, like the feudal lords of the soil. They were at the head of a free society, and were associated with its duties and interests. In other countries they would have been ennobled: but here they cast in their fortunes with the commons. As sheriffs, and justices of the peace, they were active in the administration of the law: they took the lead in all local affairs: they encouraged the agriculture and the sports of the neighbourhood: they were welcomed as the leaders of society. They loved the country: they devoted their fortunes to the support of the ancestral hall, or manor-house, the park, the pleasaunce, and the preserves, and to free-handed hospitalities, and charity: but they found little attraction in the distant capital.[1] No class has contributed so much to the social and political stability of England. Their instincts were in favour of the traditions of English liberty; and they were prepared to maintain, with honest resolution, the legal rights of the people. But they were conservative and unchanging. Not easily moved by impulses or theories, they were ready to resist innovations, whether proceeding from the king, the church, or the people. Such men were returned to parliament by their own

[1] 'Poggio, in his travels, wrote, three centuries ago, this sentence so full of truths and of consequences: "Among the English, the nobles think it shameful to sojourn in cities; they inhabit retired parts of the country among woods and pastures; they consider him the most noble who has the largest revenue; they addict themselves to field affairs, sell their wool and their cattle, and do not consider rural profits disgraceful."' —Taine, *Notes on England*, 170.

CHAP. XVIII.

counties, and neighbouring boroughs, and were the most independent members of the House of Commons. Surrounded by courtiers, placemen, and lawyers, their voices were raised in support of the privileges of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people. To them is mainly due the contrast between the political destinies of England and of France. With such a class of country gentlemen, the liberties of Frenchmen might have been extended, without the terrors of perpetual revolutions.

Middle classes.

While the gentry were drawn nearer to the people than the barons of old, the increasing prosperity of the country had raised a numerous and powerful middle class, between them and the great body of the nation. The forest, the marsh, and the moor, were receding before the persevering toil of the husbandman. Agriculture, freed from the shackles of feudal service, and encouraged by the united interests of landlords and tenants, had become more skilful and productive. Farmers and yeomen had grown into a considerable social class.

Commerce and manufactures.

At the same time, manufactures, commerce, and shipping had enriched the towns and seaports. The woollen manufacture had become an important industry; and manufacturers in linen, in silk, and in iron, however modest in their pretensions, were already contributing to the wealth of the middle class. Commerce and navigation had made prodigious advances. There had long been an active intercourse with the Netherlands; and the wreck of Flemish prosperity, under the tyranny of Spain, had driven numbers of merchants, manufacturers, and artificers to our shores, who quickened the enterprise, and enlarged the rela-

tions of British commerce. Our merchants traded with the north of Europe: with Italy, and the Mediterranean: with the East and West Indies, and with America. They were beginning to rival landowners in wealth and influence. Their dwellings, if less stately than the palaces of Italian princes, and less picturesque than the houses of the magnificent citizens of Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp, bore witness to their riches, taste, and social advancement. The smaller traders and artificers showed the like signs of prosperity; and the busy communities of commercial towns were becoming a new, and ever increasing, power in society, and in the State.

Intellectual progress.

The intellectual progress of society had kept pace with its material improvement. The revival of learning in Europe had borne its fruits in England as elsewhere: the study of the classics had raised the standard of thought and culture: a new national literature appealed to the tastes and sentiments of the people: the printing press had spread far and wide the writings of the learned, the speculations of philosophers, the fancies of poets and dramatists, and the popular pamphlets and songs of the period. For centuries the universities had promoted the culture of the country; and the grammar schools of Edward VI. and Elizabeth at once proved the growing desire of the middle classes for improved means of education, and gave a marked impulse to their intellectual advancement.[1]

Religious movements.

But none of these causes contributed so much to the moral and intellectual development of society, and

[1] The national progress under the Plantagenets and Tudors is admirably described by Mr. Green, in his remarkable history of the English people, chaps. iv. and v.

CHAP. XVIII.

to its political activity, as the religious controversies and revolutions which had so long convulsed the country. Since the days of Wycliffe, the minds and consciences of the people had been awakened to religious thought; and the furious conflicts of the reformation had divided society into hostile and irreconcilable religious sects. The persecutions which all in turn had suffered, had hardened their convictions, had exasperated their zeal, and widened their divisions. The people, indeed, had not been consulted in regard to the successive changes of the national faith: but they were profoundly stirred by all the religious questions of the time. Before the close of the long reign of Elizabeth, the great majority of the English people had renounced the Catholic faith: but they were far from accepting a single Protestant creed. The doctrines and ceremonial of the Church of England had been founded upon the moderate principles of Luther, and his school of reformers. The errors of the Church of Rome were condemned, and her authority repudiated: but the reformed church was otherwise modelled upon the foundations of the old establishment.

The Puritans.

The State had determined the national faith, and exacted a rigorous uniformity of public worship. But the religious dissensions of the age had advanced too far to be composed by acts of parliament. Calvin had his followers as well as Luther: his doctrines and church polity had been embraced in Switzerland, in the Netherlands, and in Scotland; and in England he found many disciples. They deplored that any Romish doctrines and observances had been retained in the reformed church: they affected simpler forms of worship, and revolted against the rule of State bishops.

Many Calvinists, to escape the persecutions of Queen Mary, had taken refuge in Switzerland and Holland, where their convictions were confirmed, and their alienation from the Church embittered. The English Bible was now in the hands of the whole people: it was accepted as the rule of faith: and every man interpreted the sacred book, according to his own private judgment. It was a new revelation, which inspired earnest souls with reverence and passionate devotion. It occupied all their thoughts: scriptural phrases and imagery entered into their familiar speech: children received Hebrew names at their baptism: the family, and social life, were governed by the precepts and examples of Holy Writ. The politics of the age were identified with its religion. As the revival of classical literature had, for a time, transformed the thoughts and language of the learned, so did the Bible now give a new direction to the spirit of general society.

The Puritan character.

This form of religious thought had attracted many of the clergy, and numbers of country gentlemen: but it was among the farmers, the yeomen, and the middle classes, that its full force and vitality were revealed. Such men, and all whose religious views were more serious than those of ordinary churchmen, were distinguished as Puritans. If we could form our ideal of the Puritan character, from so noble a gentleman as Colonel Hutchinson, as pourtrayed by his loving biographer, or from so rare a genius as Milton, it would stand out as a model of grave and lofty virtues. Nor can it be doubted that the Puritans had conceived a higher standard of religious and moral purity than their contemporaries. But the greater number, having no other guide than the Bible, which they applied, after

CHAP. XVIII.

their own fashion, to all the affairs of daily life, were stern, narrow and unsocial. They frowned upon the amusements of the world as sinful: they condemned the ceremonies of the church as idolatrous; and they learned to distrust their rulers, as the patrons of a system, in Church and State, which was obnoxious to their faith.

Different sects of Puritans.

Elizabeth and her bishops had vainly striven to repress divisions in the church: the ecclesiastical commission had strained its formidable power to secure uniformity of doctrine and worship: numbers of pious ministers were cast out: but puritanism was gaining ground in the Church, and sectaries were multiplied. The Star Chamber endeavoured to stifle religious controversies in the press: but the church and the bishops were assailed with increasing boldness. The earlier Puritans were churchmen: but considerable sects of nonconformists were now growing up, outside the pale of the church. Of these, the most powerful were the Presbyterians, and the Separatists or Independents.

Political views of the Puritans.

These various sects, however opposed to one another, were hostile to the church, and estranged from the civil polity which was identified with her rule. The queen and her bishops were supreme in Church and State alike; and religion assumed the first place in the politics of the age. The republican spirit of the Presbyterians, in ecclesiastical affairs, shaped their political views, and inclined them to stubborn resistance to the civil power. Other Puritans also, relying upon the Bible for guidance in civil life, judged their rulers with the stern independence of their austere creed.

Their jealousy of Catholics.

Upon the most momentous question of the time, all Puritans,—whether churchmen or nonconformists,—

were earnestly agreed. They were zealous in the cause of Protestantism; and never was zeal more justified in a holy cause. Throughout Europe the Protestant faith was threatened: the great work of the reformation seemed about to be undone: the Church of Rome was recovering her shattered dominion. There was Catholic reaction in Austria and Southern Germany: Spanish armies were trampling upon Protestantism and liberty, in the Netherlands: the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the apostacy of Henry of Navarre, had crushed the hopes of the Huguenots in France. Who could say that the true faith was safe in England? There had been a fearful Catholic reaction under Mary: there had been Catholic insurrections and conspiracies against Elizabeth. Catholics at home and abroad had hailed Mary Stuart as the coming queen of Catholic England. The queen herself was not without Catholic predilections: nor had the reformed church been purged of all Romish superstitions: the most earnest Protestants were persecuted by Erastian bishops, and prelacy might again be in alliance with popery.

Elizabeth and the Puritans.

Elizabeth herself was confronted by the stubborn spirit of the Puritans:[1] but, counselled by able ministers, she knew how to avert dangerous conflicts; and her glorious triumph over Catholic Spain aroused the patriotic sympathies of her Protestant subjects. She left the power of the crown unimpaired: but social and religious forces had arisen within her realm, which were about to change the destinies of the English monarchy. The period of reaction against popular rights had passed; and a new era of constitutional freedom was approaching.

[1] Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i. 252, *et seq.*; Froude, *Hist. of England*, xii. 549, *et seq.*; Forster, *The Grand Remonstrance*, 87; Green, *Short History of the English People*, chap. viii.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENGLAND—*continued.*

JAMES I.—HIS VIEWS OF PREROGATIVE—HIS RELATIONS WITH THE PARLIAMENT, THE CHURCH, AND OTHER COMMUNIONS—CHARLES I. AND HIS PARLIAMENTS—TAXES BY PREROGATIVE—THE KING AND THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

CHAP. XIX.

Accession of the Stuarts. 1603.

SUCH was the condition of society, and such the state of religious opinion, when the Stuarts succeeded to the throne. The commons were powerful, and sensitive to any invasion of their liberties: the Stuarts had high notions of their prerogatives; and the church, while she went hand in hand with the crown in temporal affairs, was becoming reactionary in her own creed, and persecuting to other communions.[1]

Character of James I.

It was not unnatural that the Stuarts should jealously maintain the prerogatives of their crown. They were encouraged, as well by the example of English kings, as of foreign monarchs. Throughout Europe, the power of kings dominated over that of nobles, parliaments, and popular institutions. They had assumed to direct the religion and conscience of their subjects, no less than their civil duties. They had, indeed, discovered, in the religious movements of the time, some

[1] For the reigns of the two first Stuarts there is a wealth of authorities. In addition to the histories of Clarendon and May, and other contemporary writers, considerable light has been recently thrown upon these times by the writings of Forster, Gardiner, and Ranke.

dangerous elements of resistance; and the revolt of the Netherlands had proved the force of a national struggle against oppression. But they had not yet learned to measure the strength of a people; and, in their eyes, the assertion of public rights was simple disaffection.[1]

Elizabeth had carried her prerogatives with a high hand, and often with much of a woman's temper: but her own character, her sex, and latterly her age, the statesmanship of her councillors, her popularity with the Protestants,—who feared to disturb the succession,—and the respect of her people, averted a collision between the crown and the commons. But James I. had openly asserted doctrines of prerogative, which were strange in the mouth of an English king. With dull pedantry, he had already maintained, in print, his startling opinions upon monarchy.[2] In his view, a king ruled by right divine: he had power to make and suspend laws, without being bound to obey them: while the duty of his subjects was simply that of passive obedience to his will. And he lost no time in proving that he was prepared to reduce his theories to practice. The pedantry of the study accompanied him to the throne. He was ever ready with a lecture. He lectured the nonconformists in one proclamation: he lectured the constituencies in another; and he was soon at issue with the commons upon questions of privilege and grievance. He commanded them to hold a conference with the judges concerning a controverted election: he rebuked them for the freedom of their debates, and reminded them that they held their

His treatment of the commons. 1604.

[1] James himself said in the Star Chamber, 'It is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that.'

[2] *True Law of Free Monarchies*, King James's Works.

CHAP. XIX.

privileges solely by his grace. They responded with a spirited 'apology,' in which the rights and liberties of the commons were boldly vindicated.[1] Still he continued to take notice of their debates, and to admonish them not to consider petitions and grievances which had been brought before them. Every unpopular act was made more provoking by the blunt assertion of some arbitrary principle. It was always made clear that the only rule of government must be the royal pleasure.

And of the Puritans.

But he committed errors far more grave and dangerous than these wranglings with the commons. Smarting under the affronts he had suffered from his Presbyterian subjects in Scotland, he was determined to show no mercy to English nonconformists. He threw ten clergymen into prison for presenting to him a respectful petition, signed by upwards of 800 clergy, praying for changes in the formularies of the church.

January 1604.

He insulted the Puritan divines at the conference at Hampton Court.[2] He issued a haughty proclamation for enforcing conformity, in which he declared his own judgment to be the rule for the consciences of other men; and commanded the bishops,—who were only too ready to obey him,—to seek out and punish the clergy who neglected any of the ceremonies of the church.

The king and the church.

The convocation, in excess of their jurisdiction, assumed to impose civil disabilities upon all who should deny the truth of any of the Thirty-nine Articles; and the king, whose notions of his own and other jurisdictions were confused, assented to these extravagant canons.[3] The king was ever disposed to

[1] *Commons Journ.*, 20th June, 1604; Hume, *Hist.* chap. 45; Gardiner, *Hist.* i. 201-208.

[2] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, i. 167-173.

[3] They were treated as invalid by the courts.

support the pretensions of the church, which was not less constant in her zeal for prerogative. The bishops and the high-church clergy were never weary of exalting prerogative and abasing civil liberty; while they strove, in alliance with the king, to enlarge the spiritual power of the church. The High Commission Court, by its unwarrantable encroachments of jurisdiction, and invasions of civil rights, displayed the dangers of ecclesiastical rule; and increased the unpopularity of the church, which had already become obnoxious to the Puritans. This was no fitting time for the assertion of such pretensions in Church and State. Country gentlemen and lawyers condemned them, as opposed to the laws and liberties of England. The Puritans, who could discover no warrant for them in Holy Writ, rejected them as contrary to the Word of God.

Canons of 1604

Relations of the king to religious parties.

The relations of the king to the various religious communions of his realm, already sufficiently critical, were rendered dangerous by this narrow policy. The Catholic worship was already forbidden: priests saying mass were subject to the penalties of treason; and heavy fines were levied upon Popish recusants. The discontents and fanaticism of the Catholics exploded in the monstrous Gunpowder Plot; and this desperate outrage naturally provoked further severities against the followers of an obnoxious faith, so deeply stained with treason. To persecute Catholics was popular: but James soon aroused the jealousies of the Puritans by an unwonted toleration of Popish recusants. A wise scheme of toleration was beyond the conception of this age. It might have averted many of the impending perils of the State: but when confined to a single creed,—and

1605.

CHAP. XIX.

that at once the weakest and the most unpopular,—it was resented as part of an insidious scheme of foreign and domestic policy, adverse to the Protestant cause. The Puritans were daily gaining strength and influence: they were becoming the strongest and most united party in the country: yet James scourged them with unrelenting severity. In Scotland,—his own native land,—where a Presbyterian Church had been founded by the will of the people,[1] he vexed his Calvinist subjects with a revival of episcopacy, and by unwelcome interferences with their national faith. He had cast his lot with his reactionary bishops, and defied the English Puritans and Scottish Presbyterians, who formed the most earnest and resolute portion of his subjects.

Levy of taxes by prerogative.

Having provoked the commons, and alienated a powerful body of his subjects by religious persecution, the king ventured upon a still more dangerous measure,—the levy of taxes by prerogative. Having levied an import duty upon currants, the legality of
1606. which was affirmed by the Court of Exchequer, he
1608. was emboldened to issue a new tariff of duties to be collected, at the ports, upon merchandise.

Such a measure struck at once at the privileges of the commons, and at the acknowledged liberties of the people. If taxes could be levied by prerogative, what property was safe from the king's demand? The commons contested the prerogative, and though com-

[1] 'The Scotch Kirk was the result of a democratic movement, and for some time, almost alone in Europe, it was the unflinching champion of political liberty.'—Lecky, *Rationalism*, i. 146. 'Scotland was the only kingdom in which the Reformation triumphed over the resistance of the state; and Ireland was the only instance where it failed, in spite of government support.'—Lord Acton, *The History of Freedom in Christianity*, 7.

manded by the king not to question the impositions, they presented a remonstrance, in which they firmly maintained their right of free discussion, and condemned the illegal taxes. They further passed a bill to annul them. Other remonstrances followed against the High Commission Court, the abuse of proclamations, assuming the force of laws, monopolies, and other grievances. But no redress was obtained, and the first parliament of James, which had so resolutely maintained the constitutional rights of the people against prerogative, was dissolved, in displeasure. This parliament had represented the general sentiments of the country. It had upheld the traditional rights of the commons, and a faithful observance of the laws by the king, and by the church. On his part, the king had strained his prerogatives: he had asserted principles of arbitrary rule, obnoxious to his subjects; and in his personal character he had exposed himself to obloquy and ridicule. It was an inauspicious commencement of the rule of the Stuarts.

The remonstrance. 1610.

James, having vainly endeavoured to support his revenue, by loans and other expedients,[1] summoned another parliament in 1614. The first act of the commons was again to denounce the illegal customs duties levied at the out-ports. They voted no subsidy; and parliament was soon dissolved without passing a single statute. Immediately after the dissolution, James further strained his prerogative, and outraged the privileges of the commons, by committing four members to prison, as a punishment for their independence. So strong was the public feeling against the measures of the court, that the country, or popular party, were

New parliament dissolved, and members committed. 1614.

[1] Among others, by the creation and sale of baronetcies.

CHAP. XIX.

returned in much greater numbers, and among them Pym, Wentworth, and Eliot, who were to bear a considerable part in the future history of this time.

James governs without a parliament.

For six years, James now governed without a parliament. By forced loans and benevolences, by monopolies and licences, by an excise duty on malt, by fines inflicted by the Star Chamber, and other expedients, he endeavoured to maintain his revenue, without the authority of parliament. He was safe, at present, from the remonstrances of the watchful commons: but it was an interval fraught with mischief to the crown. The people were smarting under his illegal exactions: while the arbitrary judgments of the Court of Star Chamber, the Privy Council, and the High Commission Court, the cruel treatment of Lady Arabella Stuart, the mysterious murder of Overbury, and the execution of Raleigh, were making the king and his government odious in the sight of his subjects.

Quarrels with the parliament in 1621.

In 1621, James was obliged to call another parliament; and the commons soon displayed their energy and public spirit, by the impeachment of Mompesson, and Bacon. They also resented an ill-advised admonition from the king not to meddle in affairs of State. They vindicated their privilege of freedom of speech, in a celebrated 'protestation,' which the king, with his own hand, offensively struck out of the journal. A dissolution soon followed this passionate quarrel; and again the privileges of the commons were grossly violated by the commitment of Sir Edward Coke, Sir R. Philips, Mr. Pym, and others, for their conduct in parliament. Such measures naturally increased the unpopularity of the king, while the political vigilance of the commonalty was more than ever awakened.

CHAP. XIX.

Parliament of 1624.

But when another parliament was summoned in 1624, the rupture of the unpopular negotiations with Spain, for the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta, had so far restored the commons to good humour, that further quarrels with the king were averted. The spirit of parliament was, however, shown by the impeachment of the Earl of Middlesex, and the abolition of monopolies by statute.

Increasing power of constituencies.

Throughout these contests, the commons were earnestly supported by their constituents. Notwithstanding the limitations of the franchise, the creation of dependent boroughs, and the close electoral privileges which had been secured by corporations, the commons had become a great representative body. The country gentlemen enjoyed the confidence of the freeholders of their counties, and exercised a commanding influence in the neighbouring boroughs; and when important principles were at stake, they were supported by public opinion. At this period, and in later times, before the correction of electoral abuses,—however imperfect the representation, and however powerful the influence of the crown, and of the peerage,—the love of freedom, which ever animated the English people, made itself felt in parliament.

Close of James's reign.

The ill-omened reign of James was now drawing to a close; and he left a perilous inheritance to his son. With personal qualities which excited contempt and aversion, the principles of his rule had been such as to arouse the jealousies of his people against the prerogatives of the crown, the domination of the church, and the arbitrary judgments of the courts of justice; and to awaken them to their duty of maintaining the civil and religious liberties of their country. The preroga-

CHAP. XIX.

tives of the crown, and the rights of the commons, had been fearlessly discussed: the popular party had successfully met the crown lawyers, upon their own ground of law and precedent, and had exposed the weakness of the royal claims. They had also displayed the power and resolution of the commons, in defence of public rights. The gentlemen of England had not quailed before the displeasure of the king; and it was clear that, if Tudor kings had been able to overcome the patriotism of parliament, a new power had now arisen, with which the Stuarts could not safely trifle. The question at issue was no longer one of precedents, and legal disputation: but whether the crown or the people were now the stronger force in the realm. The king had accepted a policy of reaction in Church and State: the commons had withstood him: but the decisive contest was reserved for the next reign.

Character of Charles I.

Many of the errors of James were due to his conceit and pedantic convictions, rather than to an arbitrary temper. But Charles, far superior to his father in his personal character and virtues, was more absolute in his will, and more unyielding in his resolutions. He succeeded to the throne when grave issues were pending between prerogative on one side, and law and parliamentary privilege on the other, which were embittered by his policy, until his country was convulsed by civil war.

First parliament of Charles.

To the embarrassments that he had inherited, he added that of a war with Spain and France. He distrusted parliaments: but their help was indispensable

1625.

for carrying on the war. A parliament was accordingly summoned: but as the commons were smarting under the grievances of the late reign, none of which had

yet been redressed, their temper was sullen; and they were bent upon extorting concessions from Charles, before they granted him an adequate revenue. It had long been the custom, at the commencement of every reign, to grant the duties of tonnage and poundage for the king's life: but they now displayed their distrust of Charles, and their determination to secure their own rights, by granting these duties for one year only. The bill, so limited, was thrown out by the Lords; and consequently no grant of these duties took effect. They granted two subsidies: but, before further arrangements could be made for meeting the financial necessities of the State, parliament was suddenly dissolved, in order to avert proceedings which were threatened against the king's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham.

The king's relations with the new parliament.

Some of the members most obnoxious to the court were appointed sheriffs of their counties,[1] in order to disqualify them from sitting in the new parliament: but this artifice failed to weaken the opposition, while it added another provocation to the popular party. The attack upon the Duke of Buckingham was about to be renewed in the commons, when the king sent a message forbidding them to question any of his servants; and another threatening them with dissolution. An impeachment, however, was voted; and the king sent two of the managers, Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges, to the Tower, for words spoken in the cause. Nor did he spare the privileges of the lords. He committed the Earl of Arundel to the Tower, and refused a writ of summons to the Earl of Bristol, who sat by patent. Again Buckingham was saved by a dissolution.

Members committed.

[1] Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir Francis Seymour.

CHAP. XIX.

Taxes levied without consent of parliament. 1626.

The arbitrary measures of the court were now reaching a climax. The commons had voted five subsidies, but had not passed the bill, when Parliament was dissolved. Yet the government attempted to collect them, as if they had been granted by parliament. The people, however, resisted; and the attempt was too grossly illegal to be persisted in. Other expedients, not less arbitrary, were now resorted to.

Forced loans.

The king had already raised money by loan, from the more wealthy gentlemen of the different counties, whose names had been returned by the lords-lieutenant. And now a general loan was demanded of all persons liable to assessment for subsidies. No stretch of prerogative so monstrous had yet been tried. The king was demanding an equivalent for the subsidies that he had failed to obtain from parliament. The country would, indeed, have been without spirit, if it had tamely submitted to such an exaction. Many country gentlemen refused to pay, and were committed to prison by the Privy Council. Five of them, of whom the great John Hampden was one, sought their release by a writ of habeas corpus: but, as they had been committed by special mandate of the king,[1] the court refused them relief. This judgment was opposed to the most cherished doctrines of English liberty; and proved but too plainly, that the judges, like the bishops, were prepared to uphold prerogative, in its encroachments upon the settled law of the land.

Another parliament summoned in 1628.

But these and other exactions, no less unlawful, were unequal to meet the pressing necessities of the State; and another parliament was summoned in 1628.

[1] 'Per speciale mandatum regis.'

So little did Charles expect a compliant temper in this parliament, that he was preparing to bring over troops from Flanders, in case of need. And, in truth, no parliament had ever met in England, with more just causes of resentment against a king. But the commons contented themselves with a grave and temperate vindication of the just liberties of the people. They passed the celebrated 'Petition of Right,' which condemned as illegal, exactions by way of loan, the commitment of persons refusing to pay, and the denial of their habeas corpus, the billeting of soldiers and sailors, and punishments by martial law. The lords, after vainly attempting to amend this bill, were constrained to concur in it. The king endeavoured to escape from an express assent to it, by evasion and equivocation: but both houses took umbrage at this treatment, and, at length, he made the petition law, by his royal assent. The commons immediately granted five subsidies: thus showing that, if grievances were redressed, they were ready to provide amply for the service of the State.

Petition of Right. 1628.

At this time, a reconciliation of the rights of the crown, and the parliament, and mutual confidence might have been established: but the king soon betrayed his duplicity and bad faith,—qualities, which were ere long destined to forfeit the loyalty of his subjects. He had resolved that this restrictive law should be evaded or overruled. Before his first equivocating answer, he had asked the judges how far the law could be evaded, if he gave his assent; and when he had been obliged to agree to it, and parliament had been prorogued, he actually printed the statute with his first answer annexed to it, as if it had

The king's bad faith.

CHAP. XIX.

not received the royal assent in the usual form.[1] He had received the subsidies as the price of this statute; and he had resolved, by unworthy subterfuges, and by evasions of the law, to repudiate the conditions to which he had assented.

Duties of tonnage and poundage. 1628.

The commons, meanwhile, having secured the royal assent to the petition of right, were preparing to pass a bill granting duties of tonnage and poundage, the bill of the late parliament having been lost by the dissolution. But before this bill was passed, they prepared a remonstrance against the levying of such duties without the consent of parliament. The king, however, to avoid receiving the remonstrance, abruptly prorogued parliament: at the same time plainly announcing his determination to continue the collection of tonnage and poundage, as his own rightful revenue.

Provocation of the Puritans.

Nor when this parliament met again, were any further measures taken to establish the revenues of the crown upon a legal foundation. The Puritans were now exasperated by the rigours of the high church prelates against themselves, by the approaches which the church was making, in doctrines and ceremonies, to the hated church of Rome, by the indulgence shown to Catholics, and by the extravagant doctrines of passive obedience preached by high church divines. Their repugnance to the spirit of the church was aggravated by the Catholic reaction abroad, and by the discomfiture of their Protestant brethren in foreign lands. Their faith was everywhere in danger, and must be guarded against its insidious foes. When the commons showed the temper in which they were preparing

[1] See further Forster's *Life of Sir J. Eliot*, ii. 229–271.

to resent these grievances, the king at once dissolved the parliament.

Charles resolves to govern without a parliament.

Three parliaments had now been successively dissolved by Charles, in four years; and, having found that institution intractable, he determined to rule without it. So far from disguising this resolution, he announced it, in a proclamation to his people. He cast all the responsibility of this step, upon those who had opposed his will, and threatened them with punishment. Nor was he slow to carry out his threats. In violation of the petition of right, to which he had so recently assented, he committed several of the most obnoxious members of the House of Commons,—including Sir John Eliot, Denzil Holles, Selden, and Strode,—for their conduct in parliament. All, however, were soon released, except Sir John Eliot, who was singled out for the vengeance of the court, Mr. Denzil Holles, and Mr. Valentine, who were sentenced to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Sir John Eliot, the most eminent of these prisoners, refused to make any submission, and, as is too well known, died several years afterwards in the Tower.[1] The illegality and injustice of these proceedings were long afterwards[2] decisively condemned by both houses of parliament; and the judgment itself was reversed by the House of Lords.[3]

Commitment of Sir John Eliot and other members.

Meanwhile the king was ruling without a parliament, and was driven to extremities to support his revenue. The customs duties continued to be levied, by prerogative only: money was raised by compositions for knighthood, by fines for encroachments upon

Taxes by prerogative.

[1] The history of his deeply interesting life is told most effectively by Forster, in his remarkable biography, which embraces all the events of this period.

[2] In 1667.

[3] In 1668.

CHAP. XIX.

Ship money. 1634-1638.

the royal forests, by grants of monopolies, and lastly by the memorable levy of ship money. Every class was aggrieved,—nobles, country gentlemen, merchants, and traders. But it was the illegal exaction of ship money, first at the seaports, and afterwards throughout the country, that caused an irreparable breach between the king and his subjects. The noble resistance of Hampden stirred up the country to a full sense of its wrongs. The tax itself was plainly unlawful, and in express violation of a recent statute,—the petition of right; while the arguments by which the judges maintained it, distinctly raised the king's prerogative above the law, and placed the property of his subjects at his absolute disposal. And, further, the king, by his proclamations, vexatiously interfered with various trades and manufactures. The time had plainly come when it must be determined whether England should be governed by prerogative, or by law,—whether the king should be absolute, like the kings of France and Spain, or should rule according to the time-honoured constitution of his country.

Star Chamber and High Commission Courts.

Another grievance of this time was the severity of the Court of Star Chamber in the punishment of offences. Ruinous fines, imprisonment, the pillory, mutilation, whipping, branding,—such were its repulsive sentences. And too often the fines were determined, not by the gravity of the offence, but by the wealth of the offender, and the poverty of the exchequer. The court was the tyrannous agent of an arbitrary rule. And while civil offences were thus cruelly punished by the Star Chamber, offences against the ecclesiastical laws were punished, with no less cruelty, by the High Commission Court.

CHAP. XIX.

Laud and Strafford.

Such grievances as these were a sore affliction to the people. There were other wrongs, however, which weighed even more heavily upon the minds of the leaders of the popular party, and of the Puritans. In the absence of parliament, the king's policy, in Church and State, had been mainly directed by the counsels of Laud and Strafford,—the one a narrow, arbitrary and reactionary prelate; the other an apostate patriot, and now a bold and unscrupulous statesman, in the service of the crown. The policy of the latter, in his own expressive phrase, was 'thorough.' He favoured absolute rule by prerogative: even the judges of his time were too timid in its assertion, and threw too many obstacles in the way of its exercise: he scorned any halting or compromise. Laud, and his high church prelates and divines, lent the full authority of the church to such a policy; and, in the government of the church, while exacting from the Puritan clergy a rigorous conformity, and seeking every occasion to drive them from their benefices, were themselves leaning, more and more, to Romish tenets and observances.[1] No toleration or mercy was shown to Puritans: indulgence was reserved for Catholics. Toleration formed no part of their policy: but the court and the high church clergy simply persecuted those to whom they were hostile, and favoured those with whom they sympathised.[2]

[1] In the words of Lord Falkland, 'It seemed that their work was to try how much of a Papist might be brought in without Popery.' . . . 'The design has been to bring in an English, though not a Roman Popery. I mean not only the outside and dress of it, but an equally absolute and blind dependence of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themselves.'—*Debates on the Grand Remonstrance.* Forster, 208, 217.

[2] May, *History of the Parliament,* chap. ii.

CHAP. XIX.

Despair of the Puritans. Puritan emigration, 1620–1630.

So grievous was this oppressive rule in Church and State, and so hopeless seemed the cause of civil and religious liberty in England, that numbers of worthy Puritans left her shores in despair; and founded, on the other side of the Atlantic, those settlements of New England which were destined, in after ages, to be the foundation of the greatest republic in the history of the world.

Growing discontent.

No party in England dreamed of resistance to the arbitrary rule under which they suffered. Some sought freedom in other lands: some hopefully awaited redress from a future parliament: but throughout the country, and among all classes, there was an ever-growing discontent.

Rebellion in Scotland, 1639.

In Scotland, the oppressive and vexatious rule of the dominant party provoked a different spirit. Above all things, the Scots prized their Presbyterian faith, and simple ceremonial. The king, guided by the evil counsels of Laud, forced upon them a high church ritual, utterly repugnant to their religious convictions and national habits. They had ever shown a stubborn and independent spirit, especially in matters of religion; and this last outrage upon their faith goaded them to rebellion.[1] With Scotland in arms, the king was in greater embarrassment than ever: but rather than summon a parliament to his aid, even in this perilous conjuncture, he sought contributions from Catholic nobles and gentlemen, who were grateful for the indulgence they had received, and expected further concessions from rulers who showed so much leaning to their faith. But these small doles were quite unequal to the

[1] May, *History of the Parliament*, chaps. iii., iv., v., vi.

support of a war; and Charles was soon reduced to make terms with the Scots, at Berwick.

Short parliament of 1640.

The respite thus obtained was brief: fresh disorders broke out in Scotland: the treasury was empty; and at last Charles consented, against his own judgment, to call another parliament. The new parliament met in April 1640, after a parliamentary interregnum of eleven years, during which the king had exercised all the powers of the State. He had taxed his subjects without the consent of parliament: he had enacted laws in the form of proclamations: he had dispensed with, and ignored statutes; and now he was to confront a body whose authority he had usurped. Meanwhile, the commons, whose privileges had been outraged, had become a more powerful estate: the commerce, industry and wealth of the people had been rapidly increasing; and the wrongs which they had suffered had filled them with deep political convictions. They had long brooded over the redress of their grievances; and at last their opportunity was at hand.

Character of the new House of Commons.

The members of the new House of Commons were grave, temperate, and earnest men: resolute in their duty of redressing grievances: inflexible of purpose: but wholly free from disloyalty to the king. They had no schemes of aggression upon his just prerogatives: but were determined to protect their own privileges, and the constitutional liberties of the people. That much was expected of them, was soon made evident by the unusual number of petitions praying for the redress of notorious grievances. But all hope of useful deliberation was soon dispelled. The king demanded twelve subsidies: but, according to time-honoured custom,—never so much needing observance as at this time,—the

CHAP. XIX.

commons first applied themselves to the consideration of grievances. The lords ventured to advise them to vote the subsidies first; and their advice was naturally resented. The king offered to discontinue the levy of ship money, if the subsidies were voted; but the commons were resolved to condemn that impost as illegal, and to restrain the arbitrary exercise of prerogative. The king sharply rebuked them for their audacity, and impatiently dissolved parliament. He had obtained no subsidies for himself; and had greatly increased the irritation and suspicions of his people. He further exasperated the commons by committing Bellasis, Sir John Hotham, and Crew,—members of their house,—for their conduct in Parliament.

May 1640.

Rebellion in Scotland renewed.

This sudden rupture with the parliament left no hope of accommodation between Charles and his subjects. His exactions became more general, and were enforced with greater severity: but in vain. The Scots were again in open rebellion, and their forces crossed the English borders. The king had driven one of his kingdoms into revolt; and had forfeited the confidence of another. Ireland also, notwithstanding the vigorous rule of Strafford, was in a state of rebellion and disorder. It was clear that such difficulties could only be overcome by the willing aid of an English parliament, enjoying the confidence, and wielding the resources of the country. But, with ruin threatening him, Charles dreaded another Puritan parliament more than the invading Scots. He knew that his cherished prerogatives would be wrung from him, and he recoiled from the sacrifice. To postpone the evil day, he summoned a council of peers at York: but they could give him no help, and merely offered the unwelcome advice, that he should summon another parliament.

CHAP. XIX.

Humbled by the victorious Scots, and harassed by divided councils and pressing embarrassments, he assented to this hateful necessity, with a heavy heart. The memorable Long Parliament met, and the struggle between prerogative and popular power at once began, which was destined to overthrow the ancient monarchy, and to establish a republic upon its ruins. We are approaching the most critical and eventful period in the domestic history of England.

The Long Parliament summoned, 1640.

The Long Parliament was not a revolutionary assembly. It comprised men of the best families in England, loyal country gentlemen, eminent lawyers, rich merchants, many faithful courtiers, and a large body of resolute Puritans, of unflinching purpose, but as yet aiming at nothing but effectual securities for liberty.[1] It differed little, in its composition, from the late parliament: but recent events had embittered its relations with the king; and its leaders, taught by experience, and encouraged by strong popular support, were preparing to grapple with prerogative, and to punish evil councillors. Distrusting the king and his advisers, who had set aside laws, and outraged liberty, they determined to bind them down, in future, by restraints which they could not break through.

The Long Parliament meets Nov. 3, 1640.

The first and greatest abuse was the long intermission of parliaments; and this was corrected by the Triennial Bill. Ship money was condemned as illegal, and the iniquitous judgment against Hampden was annulled by statute. The levying of customs duties, otherwise

Remedial measures.

[1] For a list of the members of the Long Parliament, see *Parl. Hist.* ii. 597. Among them will be found such honoured English names as Hampden, Verney, Hippesley, Carew, Temple, Dering, Buller, Trevor, Vivian, Curzon, Seymour, Russell, Strode, Northcote, Strangways, Lumley, Mildmay, Knightley, and Vane.

CHAP XIX.

than with the consent of parliament, was once more pronounced illegal: while the customary duties of tonnage and poundage were at length formally granted to the crown. The Star Chamber and the High Commission Court were abolished. The abuses of purveyance, of compulsory knighthood, and of the royal forests were corrected. Impressment for the army was condemned. The privileges of parliament were vindicated. Such were the principal laws by which the Long Parliament recovered and confirmed the liberties of England. They were all temperate and judicious: they infringed no constitutional prerogative of the crown: they followed ancient precedents: they were framed for defence, not for aggression: they secured liberty, but were not conceived in the spirit of democracy.[1]

Impeachments.

But it was not enough to pass good laws, which might again be trampled upon by arbitrary rulers and compliant judges. Prerogative had been upheld as superior to the law: crimes had been committed against the State; and it was necessary to punish the offenders, as an example and a warning to after times. The commons struck first at the greatest offenders. They im-

[1] The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Giustinian, writing on the 11th of January, 1641, N.S., speaks of a bill for securing the annual meeting of Parliament, which the commons had passed and sent to the lords, as 'fraught with important consequences,' and says, 'The lords are apprehensive lest similar diminution of the royal authority, coupled with the frequency of parliaments, may augment immoderately the licentiousness of the people; and that, after throwing off the yoke of the monarchy, there is evident risk of their next dispensing with the nobility likewise, and reducing the government of this realm to a pure democracy, which is the sole aim of the most seditious of these politicians, and above all of the Puritans. The king on his part, encourages this opinion to the utmost, and labours arduously to prevent the commons from succeeding in so bold a project, which wounds his prerogative in its most vital part.'—MSS. (Mr. Rawdon Brown), vol. xlvi. (Record Office).

peached the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud of high treason, and the lords committed them to the Tower. The Lord Keeper Finch, and Secretary Windebank, were also impeached: but they escaped, and fled to the continent. The unhappy prelate was left to languish in prison; and the wrath of parliament was first directed against Strafford.

Attainder of Strafford.

To sustain an impeachment against him, such a construction of the laws of treason and of evidence was necessary, as was repugnant to the principles of English jurisprudence. This form of proceeding was therefore dropped; and a bill of attainder was introduced. This bill was readily passed by the commons; and the expected resistance of the lords was overcome by the intimidation of armed mobs, which besieged the houses of parliament, and clamoured for justice against Strafford.[1] The painful struggles of Charles with his own conscience, on this critical occasion, have been often described: but one of his efforts to save the life of his faithful minister must not be passed over in silence. He declared his readiness to pledge himself never to employ Strafford again in the public service. Unhappily this proposal was made by Charles to induce the House of Lords not to pass the bill of attainder; and, instead of being accepted as a concession, by the popular party, was resented as an interference with the privileges of parliament.[2] The king, assailed by popular clamours, and overcome by the embarrassments and dangers of his position, at length consented to the sacrifice of his councillor; and Strafford expiated his political crimes upon the scaffold. In these peaceable times, we con-

May 12, 1641.

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* i. 232, 256; Rushworth, v. 248.

[2] Rushworth, v. 239.

CHAP. XIX.

demn the severity with which Strafford was pursued to death: but he had committed crimes, and he was judged according to the spirit and usage of his age. The hands of English kings and councillors were red with the blood of many innocent men condemned as traitors; and power was now passing from the king to parliament. The commons were without mercy: but at this crisis, their pitiless temper was aroused in defence of the liberties of England.

Extraordinary powers assumed by the parliament.

So far the acts of the commons were constitutional, and within the acknowledged limits of the authority of parliament. But, having entered upon an unexampled contest with the king and his councillors, they did not hesitate to assume powers, for which there was no warrant in law or precedent. The king had stretched his prerogative; and now the parliament entered upon a systematic abuse of its privileges. Not contented with their unquestionable right to denounce abuses, with a view to the passing of new laws, or the punishment of offences against the law, before the legal tribunals, parliament claimed to punish, as delinquents, all persons whom they adjudged guilty of offences against the law.[1] Reviewing the late course of administration, they condemned, as delinquents, large classes of persons who had been concerned in the performance of duties authorised by the executive government,—lieutenants of counties for executing the king's orders, and sheriffs for

Delinquents.

[1] 'This word "delinquent" was very much in use during this parliament. Thus, a great number of those who had been most noted for their adherence to the maxims of the court, or the principles of the archbishop, were voted Delinquents, and thereby kept in awe by the commons, who, according as they behaved well or ill to them, could prosecute or leave them unmolested.'—Rapin, *Hist.* ii. 356. See also Rushworth, iv. 58; Clarendon, *Hist.* i. 141, 144; Hume, *Hist.* v. 9, 10.

levying ship money :[1] officers of the revenue, who had collected the duties of tonnage and poundage. The judges who had given judgment against Hampden in the great case of ship money, were accused before the House of Lords, and required to give surety for their appearance. Judge Berkeley was even seized, by order of the house, while sitting in his court.[2] Clergymen, who had introduced new ceremonies into the church, were declared delinquents, and committed to prison.[3] And a committee for scandalous ministers having been appointed, numbers of ministers, obnoxious to the Puritans, were censured and expelled from their livings, by the sole authority of the commons.[4] They also made orders for the pulling down of all crucifixes, images and altars in the churches. Even crosses were removed, by their authority, from the public streets and market places.[5] In September 1641, a joint committee of the two houses, with considerable executive and coercive powers, was appointed to sit during the recess.[6] And similar committees, with unaccustomed functions, continued to form part of the administration of the parliament. Nor did they encroach upon the law alone: their encroachments upon prerogative commenced very early in the strife. In August 1641, the two houses passed an ordinance, without the assent of the king, for disarming all the papists in England;[7] and, in November, another ordinance for raising forces for the

[1] Clarendon, i. 308–316.
[2] Whitlocke, 39; *Parl. Hist.* ii. 917.
[3] *Parl. Hist.* ii. 678; Clarendon, *Hist.* i. 475; Rushworth, v. 203, 351.
[4] Nalson, *Collection*, ii. 234, 245.
[5] Whitlocke, 45.
[6] Rushworth, v. 387; *Parl. Hist.* ii. 910–915.
[7] *Com. Journ.* Aug. 30, 1641; Clarendon, *Hist.* ii. 3.

CHAP. XIX.

defence of Ireland.[1] And similar ordinances were passed throughout the time of the Long Parliament.[2] These encroachments of the commons served to terrify all the agents of the government, to strengthen the parliament, and to discourage opposition to its measures: but they were no more defensible than the excesses of which the king and his ministers had been accused; and they marked the commencement of the revolutionary movement upon which parliament was about to enter.

Interference with the lords.

The revolutionary spirit of the Long Parliament was further shown by the dealings of the commons with the House of Lords, its own members, and the people. Their own will was the only law which they were prepared to recognise. In December 1641, taking notice that certain bills had not been returned by the lords, they desired their lordships should be acquainted, at a conference, 'that this house, being the representative body of the whole kingdom, and their lordships being but as particular persons, and coming to parliament in a particular capacity, that if they shall not be pleased to consent to the passing of those acts, and others necessary to the preservation and safety of the kingdom, that then this house, together with such of the lords that are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom, may join together and represent the same unto his Majesty.'[3] Thus early was displayed a determination to deny the lords their lawful rights of legislation. Nor would they allow debates in the other house, of which they disapproved, to pass without censure. They punished the Duke of Richmond

[1] *Com. Journ.* Nov. 9, 1641.
[2] See Husband's *Acts and Ordinances.*
[3] *Com. Journ.* Dec. 3, 1641, ii. 330.

for a few words, spoken in his place;[1] and impeached twelve of the bishops for a protest against the validity of proceedings of the House of Lords, while they were prevented from attending by the mob.[2] In their own house they violently repressed all freedom of debate. Opposition to the majority was treated as a contempt, and punished with commitment or expulsion.[3] Privilege had become more formidable than prerogative.

Freedom of debate restrained.

Petitions had now become an important instrument of political agitation. But the parliament would not tolerate petitions, however moderate and respectful, which opposed their policy, or represented the opinions of the minority. Often the luckless petitioners were even sent to prison.[4] But petitioners, who approved the measures of the majority, were received with favour, even when attended by mobs, which ought to have been discouraged and repelled.[5] In our own time the multiplication of petitions in support of popular views of public policy, and as a means of influencing parliament and public opinion, has become familiar to us: but, until the meeting of this parliament, it had been wholly unknown. Now, however, petitions were prepared complaining of every grievance, and signed by large numbers of petitioners. These were discussed in the house, and immediately published, for the information of the people. No less than forty committees were appointed to inquire into these alleged grievances, with large powers roughly exercised; and their outspoken

And right of petition.

Popular agitation

[1] *Com. Journ.* ii. 400, 543, &c.; *Parl. Hist.* ii. 1062.

[2] *Parl. Hist.* ii. 996, 1092; Clarendon, *Hist.* ii. 118–121.

[3] *Com. Journ.* ii. 158, 411, 703, &c.; *Parl. Hist.* ii. 1072.

[4] *Parl. Hist.* ii. 1147, 1150, 1188; Clarendon, *Hist.* ii. 322.

[5] *E.g. The Buckinghamshire Petition*; Clarendon, *Hist.* ii. 166; *Parl. Hist.* ii. 1072–1076; iii. 43.

CHAP. XIX.

reports, and the discussions to which they led, fomented the popular excitement.[1] The leaders of the popular party also encouraged the assembling of mobs for supporting their cause, and intimidating their opponents. On December 28, 1641, there were disturbances outside both houses of parliament, with cries of 'No bishops!' and an affray arose between some gentlemen and the mob. The lords desired the commons to join with them in a declaration against these disorders, which was discussed there. Strong observations were made upon the preferring of petitions by tumultuous assemblies. According to Lord Clarendon, however, some members urged 'that they must not discourage their friends, this being a time they must make use of all friends;'[2] and the like practices were continued throughout the troubled period of this parliament.[3]

Supported by mobs.

Act against dissolution of parliament, May, 1641.

The commons and the popular party had now completely triumphed over prerogative, and had signally avenged the wrongs which they had lately suffered. But their contest with the king could not rest here. They held him in profound distrust: they dreaded a dissolution, and a government by the sword. They had provided against the intermission of parliaments: but how should they protect themselves from

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* i. 357, &c.

[2] Clarendon. *Hist.* ii. 87; *Parl. Hist.* ii. 986.

[3] On July 26, 1647, riotous mobs of apprentices surrounded the House of Commons, and some of them were called in to present a petition. The apprentices were afterwards very disorderly in the lobby, knocking at the door, preventing a division from taking place, hustling the Speaker, and forcing him back into the chair, which he had left, and obliging him to put a question. Both houses were overawed by these mobs, and forced to repeal an ordinance relating to the London militia, and a declaration lately made against framing petitions. *Parl. Hist.* iii. 718, 722; Whitlocke, *Mem.* 263; Ludlow, *Mem.* i. 191.

the sudden overthrow of their own power, the renewed domination of the king, and his vengeance against themselves? Their only protection was to be sought in a bold invasion of the royal prerogative. They passed a bill to forbid a dissolution of the present parliament, without its own consent; and to this aggressive measure the king, humbled by defeat, was constrained to give his assent. It was the first undoubted infringement of the constitutional rights of the crown; and it secured not only the independence, but the mastery of the resolute commons.

Attempts at accommodation.

The parliament, having secured its own permanence, was more formidable than ever. But its victories over prerogative had satisfied many of the popular party: the public liberties had been recovered: grievances had been redressed: unlawful acts had been condemned and punished: might not peace and confidence between the king and the commons be, at length, restored? For a time such a result seemed attainable, by the admission of some of the parliamentary leaders to the service of the crown:[1] but the more violent sections of the party: the Presbyterians and Independents: men who desired further changes in Church and State: men who profoundly distrusted Charles and his court, determined that the struggle should not yet be closed. Nor was it possible to embrace all the leaders of the opposition, or to persuade the selected

[1] The Earls of Essex and Holland, Lords Say and Falkland, and Mr. St. John. The Earls of Hertford, Bedford, Bristol, and Warwick, and the Lords Savile and Kimbolton, were also admitted to the Privy Council. Clarendon, *Hist.* i. 369; Rushworth, v. 189. It was further proposed to make Holles Secretary of State, Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Say Master of the Wards, the Earl of Essex governor, and Hampden tutor to the Prince of Wales. Clarendon, *Hist.* i. 210, 211.

CHAP. XIX.

few to separate themselves from their party, and desert a cause which was still hotly pursued by their friends and adherents. The distrust of the popular party was further inflamed by the rebellion in Ireland. The horrible excesses of the Irish rebels could not be suffered to continue: but what if an army, raised for service in Ireland, should be used for the coercion of the English parliament? In June 1641 this party carried a bill to deprive the bishops of their votes in the House of Lords: but it was rejected by the other house. Again, to keep alive the strife, in November 1641, they voted a grand remonstrance to the king, in which they reviewed the several grievances under which the country had lately suffered, the progress made by parliament in redressing them, and the obstacles still opposed to further reforms. It was a terrible indictment against the policy of the court; and was designed not so much as a remonstrance to the king, as an appeal to the people;[1] and it was responded to with passionate enthusiasm. The city of London made common cause with the parliament; and associations were formed, in the provinces, for the support of the commons in their bold struggles for the public liberties.

Political grievances already redressed.

The chief political grievances, indeed, had been already redressed. But the Puritans were more inflamed by religious than by political grievances. They detested the bishops with as much fury as their

The Puritans.

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* ii. 49, *et seq.*: 'It is the most authentic statement ever put forth of the wrongs endured by all classes of the English people during the first fifteen years of the reign of Charles I.; and for that reason, the most complete justification on record of the Great Rebellion.' (Forster, *The Grand Remonstrance*, 114.) Every incident connected with this remonstrance is related, with exhaustive fulness, in the work just cited.

brethren in Scotland: they hated the liturgy: they were offended by the surplice: they objected to bowing towards the altar: they disapproved of the use of the cross in baptism, and of the ring in marriage; and of other usages and ceremonies of the church. The Scots had rebelled against these things, and had recovered their cherished forms of worship: the English Puritans were bent upon securing equal privileges for themselves.[1] The heroic and successful resistance of Calvinistic Holland to the oppressions of Philip II., and the establishment of Puritan forms of worship in that country, also animated the English Puritans with a more active and aggressive spirit. With them religion ever had the foremost place in politics; and they could not rest until their faith had prevailed.

Growth of Puritan influence.

With such religious zeal and hatreds among the Puritans, the revolutionary spirit was sustained so long as the royal cause continued to be identified with the church. Such men were ready to assist in any political convulsions which should ensure the fall of the church; and, from the peculiar religious opinions of this time, Church and State soon became confounded in the minds of zealots, in a common hatred, and exalted into a holy cause.[2] The animosity and distrust of this party were not allayed by past successes: the more violent were meditating further restraints upon the king, and renewed assaults upon the bishops: while the courtiers provoked them by their haughty bearing and contemptuous language. The main object of the leaders,

Revolutionary spirit sustained.

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* i. 233.

[2] In the seventeenth century the church had so allied itself to the tyranny of the king and the persecution of other sects, that puritanism in England became the representative of democracy.—Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, ii. 9.

CHAP. XIX.

Pym, Hampden, and St. John, was to restrain the undue exercise of prerogative: the first aim of their Puritan followers,—the most irreconcilable members of the party,—was to overthrow episcopacy, and the domination of the high church divines, and to arrest the Romish reaction, which was undoing the work of the reformers of the last century.

Rashness of the court.

On one side, the court regarded this party as insolent and disaffected, and its measures as intolerable encroachments upon the just prerogatives of the crown. On the other, the majority of the patriots were bent upon the subversion of the existing polity, in Church and State. A mortal struggle was still threatening, which could only be averted by restoring some measure of confidence between the king and the commons, when Charles's rash and foolish attempt to arrest the five leaders of the popular party,[1] in the House of Commons, at once destroyed all hope of accommodation. To have put down the obnoxious parliament, by force of arms, might have been attempted by a strong-handed monarch: but to irritate a powerful and hostile body, by this feeble outrage, was fatal to Charles and to the monarchy. Many who had still hoped to control prerogative by remonstrances and remedial statutes now saw that they had to deal with a king, whose insincerity had been too often exposed, whom no constitutional securities could restrain, and whose arbitrary temper was ever ready to outrage law and privilege.

Arrest of the five members, January 3, 1642.

Renewed opposition to the king.

Still stronger measures were now determined upon.

[1] Pym, Hampden, Denzel Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Strode. May, *Hist. of the Parl.* book ii. chap. ii.; Forster, *Arrest of the Five Members*, xii.–xxi. &c. In this work, much of the history of the time is grouped round this central incident.

First, the Puritans were gratified by the passing of their cherished measure, for depriving the bishops of their seats in the upper house, to which the lords agreed, and the king was constrained to give his assent. Next, a more serious invasion of prerogative was proposed, than any which had yet been ventured upon. The commons had, for some time, shown their jealousy of the king's uncontrolled power over the military forces of the country; and they now passed a bill to wrest the control of the militia from the crown, and to place it under the orders of the two houses of parliament. To such a bill the king could not be expected to consent. He could not deliver up his sword to his enemies, without first doing battle. If willing to share his power with the parliament, he could not strip himself of it altogether. After some parley, he at length refused his assent to the bill;[1] and prepared for the impending contest, which was to cost him his life.

The Militia Bill. Feb. 1642.

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* ii. 261.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CIVIL WAR—RUIN OF THE ROYAL CAUSE—THE KING, THE ARMY—CROMWELL AND THE PARLIAMENT—REPUBLICAN OPINIONS—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES.

CHAP. XX.

The king leaves London.

A CRISIS was now at hand, in which parliamentary strife was to give place to the arbitrament of the sword. The public excitement which prevailed, and the tumultuous assemblages which the parliamentary struggle had encouraged, afforded the king sufficient ground for leaving his capital: but he was already preparing to resist any further invasion of his prerogatives, by an appeal to arms. His queen was sent abroad, with the crown jewels, to equip foreign troops for the king's service, while he himself retired to the north of England, and commenced preparations for raising an army.[1] At York, he was followed by the 'nineteen propositions' which, if assented to, would have made him a mere puppet in the hands of the parliament. With the fortunes of war before him, no king could have submitted to such conditions; and his preparations were continued.

Preparations for war.

He was soon surrounded by faithful followers and adherents to his cause. Peers and members of the House of Commons, who had vainly raised their voices for him at Westminster, followed him to York. They were generally averse to war; and would have advised

[1] May, *Hist. of the Parl.* book ii. ch. ii.

any reasonable accommodation between the king and the parliament.

The king's adherents.

There were country gentlemen, friends of liberty, but loyal to the crown, and resolute to defend their king against his enemies. There were spirited young nobles and gentlemen eager to chastise the rebellious Puritans, whom they despised and hated. There were Catholics ready to draw their swords for what they believed to be the common cause of the monarchy and the Catholic faith. And there were soldiers, trained to arms in continental wars, who were burning to gain fresh laurels upon English battle-fields. A cause thus supported soon gathered together a considerable army. Was it to be used for making reasonable terms with the parliament, or for overthrowing the popular party, and crushing the liberties of the people, which had lately been secured? The best and worthiest advisers of Charles desired no more than to save his just prerogatives from the encroachments of the parliament. The courtiers, the soldiers, and the more headstrong of the royalists, were eager to march to Westminster, to scourge the parliamentary rebels, and to restore the king to Whitehall, as absolute master of his dominions. That the king's forces would soon be engaged with the troops was only too certain. Sir John Hotham, who had been made governor of Hull, refused admittance to the king himself,[1] and everywhere preparations were being made, by the parliament, for meeting the royal forces in the field.

Divided counsels at Westminster.

If there were divided counsels at York, there were counsels no less divided at Westminster. The parliament had not been slow in collecting an army to resist

[1] May, *Hist. of the Parl.* book ii. ch. ii.

CHAP XX.

the king: but the approaching civil war was regarded with conflicting feelings by different sections of the popular party. The royalists had generally seceded from both houses: but there remained many moderate men who deplored the extremities to which they had been driven, and would gladly have averted the shedding of blood. But when the sword had been drawn, vain was the office of peacemakers on either side. The early successes of the king, indeed, strengthened for a time the endeavours of the peace party in parliament: but, at the same time, they gave encouragement to the uncompromising party among the royalists. Negotiations were tried at Oxford between the king and the parliament: but neither party was ready to make concessions which the other could accept; and the final issue was now left to the sword.

The civil war.

On both sides, the contest assumed a more irreconcilable character. The secession of other royalists and moderate men from the parliament, left the conduct of affairs in the hands of the extreme party at Westminster: while the rupture of negociations for peace confirmed the ascendency of the warlike party, in the councils of the king. The commons impeached the queen: the king declared the two houses to be no parliament: the two houses passed an ordinance for making a new great seal; and, in order to win over the Scots, they entered into a 'solemn league and covenant' to abolish prelacy, and adopt the Presbyterian form of church government in England: they persecuted the clergy of the Anglican Church: they revived the impeachment of Laud, which had been suffered to sleep for the last three years, while the unhappy prelate remained a prisoner in the Tower, and at length brought him to the block.

The solemn league and covenant.

January 10, 1644.

CHAP. XX.

Meanwhile, the king had summoned another parliament at Oxford,[1] which threatened to be as troublesome as some former parliaments at Westminster. It was moderate and constitutional, and more earnest in its aversion to Catholics, than in its zeal for the king's cause: but, above all, it was pacific, and insisted upon further overtures for peace. Negociations were accordingly carried on at Uxbridge: but the breach was too wide between the two parties, and the fortunes of war were as yet too undecided, to allow of a peaceful solution of the strife. Nor, if the conditions of a peace could have been agreed upon, could Charles and his indissoluble parliament have quietly laid down their arms, and returned to the steady track of constitutional government. They had drawn the sword, and could not sheath it again until one or other was the conqueror. The two parties were irreconcilable; and their long-continued strife had embittered their personal feuds, and increased the divergence of their principles.

Negociations for peace, 1643.

A republican spirit was now beginning to be apparent, especially among the Independents. These men no longer sought concessions from the crown, or securities for popular rights: but aimed at the overthrow of the monarchy, and the ruin of the hated church. They were the first example of a democratic party in England. Liberty had often had its fearless champions: but democracy was unknown. The Independents had gradually separated themselves from the Presbyterians; and as their creed was more subversive of ecclesiastical institutions, so were their political views

The Independents.

[1] In the convention at Oxford with the king there were more peers than at Westminster, and nearly two hundred members of the House of Commons. *Parl. Hist.* iii. 202.

CHAP. XX.

more violent and implacable. Their political ideal was a republic, without king or nobles, in which all citizens should enjoy an absolute equality. Of this stern and resolute party Oliver Cromwell, Sir Harry Vane, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John were the leaders; and their capacity and strength of will were destined to prevail over their rivals. In parliament and in the country, their party formed an insignificant minority: it was in the parliamentary army alone that they could hope to attain ascendency.

Oliver Cromwell.

Cromwell, who had already risen to eminence as a soldier, clearly foresaw that the army would soon 'give law both to king and parliament;'[1] and his character and opportunities alike led him to seek power from the soldiery rather than from parliament. A consummate general, and a popular commander, his influence in the army was paramount. His skill and bravery in the field: his familiarity with his Puritan soldiers: his fanatical spirit: his prayers and pious exhortations, made him the idol of the Roundhead soldiery, who held the fortunes of the country in their hands. In parliament he could not have attained pre-eminence, otherwise than as a successful soldier. As a speaker he was tedious, obscure, confused and unimpressive: his purposes were dark and inscrutable; and he addressed a Presbyterian majority, who were members of a different school in religion and politics, and distrusted his policy and his ambition.

The Independent preachers.

The leaders of the Independents were no less strong in the pulpit than in the army; and, whenever they desired to sway public opinion, their preachers were ready at their call. With the word of God for ever in

[1] Statement of the Earl of Manchester. Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, v. 561.

their mouths, they interpreted his will, at pleasure, with all the force of revelation; and every design of their leaders was proclaimed as the voice of the Holy Spirit. With the fervid faith of the ancient Hebrews, they taught that God's hand directed and controlled every act of man; and they assumed to reveal his divine purposes. In their eyes, the government of England had become a theocracy, and God himself ruled through his ministers and instruments. No more powerful auxiliaries could have been found than these impassioned preachers, whose inspiration was never doubted by their God-fearing flocks.[1] CHAP. XX.

Self denying ordinance.

The ambitious leaders of the Independent party, jealous of the ascendency of the Presbyterians in parliament, in the army, and in the chief offices of State, conceived a cunning scheme for stripping them of their power. Their preachers, having first denounced the self-seeking and covetous disposition of members of parliament, who had taken to themselves the chief commands in the army, and the most lucrative civil offices,—to the injury of the State, and against the manifest will of God, who had made their enterprises to fail,—they proposed the celebrated 'self-denying ordinance.' By this ordinance the members of both houses were called upon to renounce all their military commands and civil offices; and, after much debate, and with many misgivings, the Presbyterian majority, against whose domination it was obviously directed, were persuaded or constrained to submit to this act of suicide.

Presbyterian generals superseded.

By this artful scheme Cromwell at once superseded Lords Essex, Manchester and Warwick, and other chief officers of the army. Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed

[1] See Selden, *Table Talk*, Works iii., Part. ii. 2042.

CHAP. XX.

general, while Cromwell himself, cunningly evading the operation of the ordinance, contrived to retain his command as lieutenant-general; and became practically the leader of the parliamentary forces. Never had a political party been so outwitted by the bold artifices of a crafty minority. All power was now in the hands of the Independents; and a fierce republican spirit animated their councils. Hitherto commissions in the parliamentary army had been issued in the name of the king and parliament: Fairfax's commission was granted by the parliament only. Even the pretence of loyalty was now cast aside.

New modelling of the army, 1645.

With new officers in command, the army was inspired with fresh fanaticism. The officers preached and prayed with their men; and soldiers, possessed with a wild religious fervour, sang psalms and songs of praise, and discussed among themselves the manifestations of the Holy Spirit, which had been vouchsafed to them. This religious enthusiasm,—however derided by the royalists, and however repugnant to the taste of other sects in that and succeeding ages,—formed the great strength of the parliamentary army. It maintained the influence of the sectarian officers: it animated the men to fight and suffer in a holy cause; and it ensured a stern and spontaneous discipline. While riot and disorders weakened the royalist forces, and made them objects of dread no less to their friends than to their foes, the despised Roundheads, steady, earnest and elated, were marching, with the spirit of crusaders, to victory.

The battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645.

The battle of Naseby ruined the fortunes of the king, and established the ascendency of Cromwell. The unhappy king, everywhere defeated, and without hope from any of the English parties, at length sought refuge with

May 5, 1646.

CHAP. XX.

the Scots at Newark. The Presbyterians were less hostile to him than the dominant Independents; and he hoped for the friendly mediation of his northern subjects. Never were hopes more falsified. He found himself a prisoner in the Scottish camp; and no sooner had the Scots, turning their royal prize to good account, made terms with the English parliament, for the payment of their arrears, than they surrendered their captive to his enemies. January 30, 1647.

Fall of the Church of England.

With the overthrow of the royal cause by the hands of the Puritans, the ruin of the Church of England was also consummated. Prelacy had been, for some time, abolished; and now the Presbyterian polity was introduced into the church: but lawyers and laymen of rational views of church government, assisted by the Independents, were able to moderate the intolerance and priestly pretensions of the scheme which Scottish Presbyterians would fain have imposed upon England.[1] In a Presbyterian church there was no toleration for the Episcopal clergy. Denounced as prelatists and royalists, about one half were ejected from their benefices:[2] the other half being content to conform to the new establishment, to give up the liturgy, and subscribe the covenant. Nor was this settlement long allowed to continue without disturbance: for when the Independents gained the ascendent, they were opposed to a national established church, and preferred ministers of their own sect, or itinerant preachers, to the Presbyterian and conforming clergy.[3] 1646. 1647. 1651.

[1] See the Ordinance; Rushworth, vii. 210; ibid. 260, 308; Whitelock, 106.

[2] Dr. John Walker, *Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy.*

[3] In Wales, the clergy having been ejected as Malignants, their places were supplied by a few itinerant preachers. Dr. John Walker, *Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy*, 147. This was probably one of the first causes of the general spread of dissent in Wales.

CHAP. XX.

Severities of the parliament.

The parliament was victorious, and was not slow to claim the rights of conquerors. It was computed that nearly half the estates of England were sequestered during the civil war, as the property of delinquents. Committees were appointed throughout the country to seek out delinquents, sequester their estates, and subject them to fines and imprisonment. They were absolute masters of the fortunes and liberty of Englishmen; and their powers were exercised with rude severity, and with scarcely any control from the parliament.[1] The committee-men, no less renowned for their piety than for their rigour, proclaimed it as their mission to spoil the Egyptians, and offered up prayers that the sins of their victims might be forgiven.

Conflict between Presbyterians and Independents, 1647-1651.

The king being powerless, and his cause desperate, the contest for power now lay between the Presbyterians and the Independents, and between the parliament and the army. The Presbyterians still commanded a majority in parliament: but they well knew the insecurity of their power, in presence of a victorious army, commanded by the leaders of the rival faction. As the war had been brought to a successful issue, they proposed to disband a part of the army, and further to weaken it by sending detachments for service in Ireland. But their crafty rivals were not to be overcome by these devices. A mutiny in the army was readily fomented. The devout sectaries denounced the sinfulness of disbanding soldiers who had fought God's battles against the unrighteous: two 'agitators' were chosen by each troop or company; and the whole army was organised to resist the parliament. While Cromwell was affecting

[1] Walker, *Hist. of Independency*, 5; Rushworth, vii. 598. Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vii. 250, vii. 188.

to mediate between the parliament and the army, the king, who had hitherto been in the custody of parliamentary commissioners, was seized and brought into the camp. Master of the king's person, and undisputed leader of the army, Cromwell now assumed the chief command, and suddenly marched his forces against the parliament.

Cromwell overcomes the parliament.

That body had few friends to rally in its defence. Even in the peculiar sanctity of the time, it had been outdone by the sectarian army. The rule of the parliament was at an end, and had passed into the hands of the bold and crafty general. The leaders of the Presbyterian party were proscribed, and forced to withdraw; and every demand of the army was conceded. When the army withdrew, the parliament was coerced by the apprentices and populace of London. In times of revolution, when law and order are in abeyance, a parliament is impotent. Its accustomed supports,—respect for the law, the reverence of the people, and the material aid of the executive power,—are wanting, and it becomes the sport of military dictation on one side, and popular violence on the other. And such was now the abject condition of the once powerful Long Parliament.

The king in captivity.

Meanwhile the captive king was courted by all parties. Whichever party could make terms with him, seemed assured of a triumph over the other. The king's chief reliance was upon the army, which was at once the most powerful body, and seemed the most indulgent to himself. Cromwell and his generals were courteous and respectful: they spoke of his restoration, and discussed his prerogatives and the settlement of his revenue. On his side, the king endeavoured to tempt

CHAP. XX.

their ambition by offers of honours and high commands.[1] That Cromwell could have been seduced from his greater ambition, and from his republican principles, by any rewards which the king was able to offer, is most improbable: nor could he have counted upon the support of his fanatical troops in restoring a king, whom they had been taught to abhor as Antichrist. In their eyes, he would have been a traitor to their common cause, bought over by the enemy.

He rejects the propositions of the army.

But, while cherishing hopes from Cromwell and the army, the king was active in his negociations with the parliament and the Scots; and was endeavouring to play off each party against the other. At length the propositions of the army were submitted to him at Hampton Court; and, still hoping to secure better terms elsewhere, he rejected them. That the conditions were hard, cannot be denied: but they were less severe than any yet proposed, even when his fortunes were not so low. He was conquered and a captive: the army alone could restore him to his throne: it could trample upon the parliament, and defy the Scots, whose succour he vainly expected: yet he ventured to offend his masters at this crisis of his fate. It may, indeed, be doubted whether these conditions were framed, in good faith, for his acceptance. For the time, all parties seemed to be agreed that the king must be treated with, and his concurrence secured in the future government of the State. Hence the army was bound to make proposals for a settlement: but none of the parties, in treaty with the king, were so little disposed to favour

[1] According to Hume, he offered Cromwell the Garter, the earldom of Essex, and the command of the army; and Ireton the lieutenancy of Ireland. *Hist. of England*, v. 233.

the revival of his power, as the fierce republican soldiery and their ambitious leaders. But, whatever the motives which dictated these proposals, their rejection was resented by the army: his dealings in other quarters were not unknown to the leaders: his letters had been intercepted; and designs unfavourable to themselves were apprehended. Henceforth the king's captivity was made intolerable: a stricter watch was kept over him: his accustomed indulgences were withdrawn; and even the danger of assassination was hinted at.

Escape from Hampton Court.

Ill at ease, and despairing of more favourable treatment from the army, Charles hastily escaped from Hampton Court. It was well to recover his freedom; and, if he could have fled across the Channel, his life, and possibly his throne, might have been saved. But, with a strange fatuity, he directed his steps to the Isle of Wight,—as to a trap,—and was immediately made a safe prisoner in Carisbrook Castle.

The king and the parliament.

Even here there still seemed hopes of the royal cause, though in truth his enemies were gathering round about him. Charles offered fresh terms of accommodation to the parliament: but, in reply, they submitted to him four bills, as preliminaries to a treaty, to which he refused his assent. The commons, acting upon the advice of Ireton and Cromwell, retorted by a resolution that no more addresses should be presented to the king, nor communications received from him; and in this resolution the lords were induced to concur. So decisive a resolution, amounting to a renunciation of allegiance, by both houses of parliament, marked the increasing breach between the king and his enemies. By fresh elections the Independents had gained strength in the House of Commons; and, through the lapse of

CHAP. XX.

the self-denying ordinance, the chief officers of the army belonging to that party, had found seats in that assembly. Cromwell, who had first encouraged political agitation in the army, in order to coerce the parliament, had found it necessary, for the sake of discipline, to repress it. And now that his own party had recovered influence in parliament, he prudently put that body forward, in furtherance of his own designs, while he kept the army, for a time, in the background.

Resolution of the generals, 1648.

Not the less were the destinies of the country still governed by Cromwell and his generals. And about this time they came to a momentous resolution concerning the king's fate. At a secret council held at Windsor, they agreed that, so long as the king lived, the country would be disturbed by insurrections and civil wars; and that it was therefore necessary to bring him to justice for his crimes against the people.[1]

The Scottish invasion.

The execution of these dread counsels, however, was for the present suspended. As a last hope of safety, Charles had executed a secret treaty with the Scots' commissioners, in which he engaged to establish the Presbyterian discipline in England, and to suppress the Independents and other rival sects, while the Scots, in return for this concession to their faith, promised him the aid of an army to restore him to the throne. In execution of this treaty, a Scottish army marched into England; and insurrections were raised in various parts of the country. In the midst of negociations with the army, and the leaders of the Independents, he had betrayed them to their Presbyterian rivals, and had again brought civil war into the land. Cromwell and

[1] Clarendon, *Hist.* v. 92, vi. 224; Sir J. Berkley, *Mem. Maseres' Tracts*, i. 383; *Somers' Tracts*, vi. 499: Hume, *Hist.* v. 242.

the army now bitterly accused him of treachery and treason. But for a time, this diversion seemed hopeful to the royal cause. Fairfax, Cromwell, and the generals hurried, with the army, to the North, to repel the invasion, and quell the insurrections; and the Presbyterian party in parliament, strengthened by their absence, and emboldened by the invasion of their Scottish brethren, revoked the hostile votes against the king, and opened fresh negociations with him for the settlement of the kingdom. But before the terms of the treaty of Newport, as it was termed, could be agreed upon, the Scottish invaders were routed, and the royalist risings everywhere crushed by the vigour and promptitude of the parliamentary generals.

Treaty of Newport, Sept. 1648.

The victorious army was once more opposed to the parliament; and the resolutions of its leaders were now openly declared. At a council of generals, a remonstrance was agreed upon, denouncing the proposed treaty with the king, and demanding that he should be brought to justice for the treason and bloodshed of which he had been guilty.[1] Petitions to the same effect were presented to the commons: while clamours were raised among the soldiers, and appeals thundered from the pulpits, for punishing the great delinquent for his crimes.

Remonstrance of the army, Nov. 17, 1648.

For a time, the parliament withstood the haughty demands of the army with dignity: but troops were quickly despatched to Westminster to invest the houses of parliament. Even then the commons were preparing to conclude the treaty with the king: but further resistance to the will of the generals was summarily prevented by a *coup d'état*. Colonel Pride with his

The army and the parliament.

[1] Nov. 17th, 1648. *Parl. Hist.* iii. 1077.

CHAP. XX.

soldiers seized 41 members, and excluded by force 160 other members of the Presbyterian party. By 'Pride's purge,' as it was jocularly termed, the House of Commons was now reduced to about 60 members, wholly devoted to Cromwell and his confederates. Since the beginning of the strife little freedom had been allowed in parliament: opposition had been punished as delinquency,[1] and lately the army had dictated its pleasure to the majority: but never yet had so gross an outrage been attempted upon the privileges and independence of parliament. Yet so little did that body command the respect of the people, that its ignominy excited more ridicule than resentment.

Pride's purge, Dec. 6, 1648.

The parliament and the king.

This remnant of the Long Parliament was a ready instrument for carrying out Cromwell's designs. It was no part of his policy that he and his generals should have the responsibility of bringing the king to trial. It was fitter that it should fall upon the parliament. Nay, even as a member of that body, he shrank from advising a measure, upon the execution of which he had long since determined; and, with characteristic hypocrisy, he assigned to divine inspiration, the bloody counsels which he shrank from avowing as his own.[2] The commons, familiar with the hypocritical language of their own school, were not slow to carry out the settled scheme of their crafty leaders. They resolved that it

[1] See *supra*, 388.

[2] He said, 'Since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray God for a blessing on *your* counsels, though I am not prepared to give you my advice upon this important occasion. . . . When I was lately offering up petitions for his Majesty's restoration, I felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications.'—*Parl. Hist.*

was treason for a king to levy war against his parliament; and appointed a High Court of Justice to try Charles Stuart, King of England, for this offence. The lords unanimously refused to concur in this resolution: whereupon the commons declared 'that the people are, under God, the origin of all just power; and that the commons of England, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power of the nation; and that whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the commons in Parliament assembled, hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the king or the House of Peers be not had thereto.' Having thus disposed of all authority but their own, they passed the ordinance for the trial of the king.

Jan. 4, 1648.

Growth of republican opinions.

The most democratic act in the history of Europe, was about to be consummated, by the will of a few resolute men, supported by a fanatical army, and a small minority of the representatives of the people. It is certain that a majority of Englishmen did not desire the execution of the king, or the foundation of a republic. Rancorous hatred of the king, and schemes of republican government, were mainly confined to the Independents and other fanatical sects, with whom these sentiments were inflamed by the fervid harangues of their ministers, by their own perverted readings of the Scriptures, and by the excitement of a bloody civil war. The soldiers of those sects had received a further impulse, in this direction, from their ambitious officers, who used their passionate devotion to urge them on to deeds of daring in the battle-field.

Republicanism in the army.

The political organisation of the army, and the encouragements given to discussions among the soldiers,

CHAP. XX.

had also advanced the growth of republican opinions. In the new-modelled army, the king was commonly denounced as a tyrant, and his death spoken of as a just atonement for his crimes. The levellers and Commonwealth's men insisted upon the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, and the establishment of a new commonwealth in which all men should be equal. The sectarian preachers found ample warrant in Scripture for bringing the king to the scaffold. Casting all the blame of the war upon him, they cried 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;'[1] and again, 'The land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.'[2] The king's enemies were saints in their sight, and were exhorted, in the words of the Psalmist, 'to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron: to execute upon them the judgment written: this honour have all his saints.'[3]

Levellers.

Scriptural warrants.

Piety and regicide.

Nor were these religious inducements confined to fanatical preachers and their coarse and ignorant followers. Such was the spirit of the time, that grave and temperate men like Colonel Hutchinson persuaded themselves that God had enlightened them in prayer, and had guided their consciences to a righteous judgment.[4]

The Presbyterians.

The Presbyterians were not less earnest in their religious faith than the Independents, and had especially laboured to overthrow the Church of England, and establish their own ecclesiastical polity. They had been foremost in resisting the early encroachments

[1] Genesis ix. 6. *Somers' Tracts*, v. 160, *et seq.*
[2] Numbers xxxv. 33.
[3] 49th Psalm.
[4] Hutchinson, *Mem.* 303.

of prerogative, and had entered with zeal into all the measures of the parliament for bringing the civil war to a successful issue. But between them and the Independents a separation arose, during the contest, which was continually widening. They were united in their opposition to the church: but the Presbyterians desired another church government upon their own model: while the Independents claimed for each congregation complete freedom and independence. The Presbyterian church polity was republican in form, and tended to develop a democratic spirit in politics, as the history of Scotland, since the Reformation, had shown. But this spirit, while it encouraged resistance to the civil power, in questions affecting the church, and a stubborn and turbulent freedom in temporal affairs, did not assume hostility to the principles of monarchical government.

The Independents.

The Independents, insisting upon individual freedom in religion, were led to more advanced speculations upon the form of civil government, which tended, more and more, towards republicanism. In religion, they surpassed their rivals in the outward forms of sanctity, in scriptural phraseology, and in theocratic faith. Led by ambitious soldiers, and bearing the brunt of the later battles against the king, their hatred of royalty was inflamed by dangers, by hard-won victories, and by the enmities of civil war. This party, which claimed superior godliness, and sought the Almighty for guidance in all its actions, was now bent upon bringing the king to the block, and overthrowing the monarchy. The regicides of England, in the seventeenth century, were distinguished for their religious fervour: the regicides of France, in the eighteenth

CHAP. XX.

century, were no less conspicuous for their frantic zeal against religion. But the political principles of these parties were the same; and, in each case, according to the necessary law of revolutions, the extreme party ultimately triumphed, before a reaction set in against their violence.

Trial and execution of the king.

Upon this independent party, represented by Cromwell and his generals, and by the small band of members permitted to sit in the House of Commons, rests the responsibility of bringing the king to trial. There was no flinching on their part: no weakness or hesitation in venturing upon this unprecedented measure. The High Court of Justice was appointed by the commons; and among its members were Cromwell and his generals, and men who had prejudged his cause. Charles, who had borne his long troubles with patient dignity, acquitted himself nobly on this momentous occasion. He was accused of having traitorously and maliciously levied war against the parliament: he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of a court founded upon usurpation: the judges were his subjects, and could not sit in judgment on their lawful king, who could do no wrong. Such pleas were not likely to be regarded; and on the fourth day of his trial, sentence of death was pronounced upon him. Some few of his enemies would even now have spared his life: but Cromwell and his confederates were obdurate; and three days afterwards, the unfortunate king expiated the errors of his life, upon the memorable scaffold, at Whitehall.

Jan. 30, 1648–49.

Contemporary sentiments.

The men who had done this deed of blood justified themselves to God, and to their own consciences: but England and all Europe exclaimed against it with

horror and indignation. The king's errors had made him, for a time, unpopular with his people: but the violence and injustice of the faction who had taken his life, and the noble dignity with which he had borne his sufferings, went far to revive their affections for himself and his family. Beyond the narrow bounds of the Independents and the army, there were none to approve the execution of the fallen king.

Opinions upon the king's execution.

By the royalists of that day, and later by the High Church and Tory party, the memory of 'King Charles the Martyr,' was held sacred; and the regicides have been condemned as murderers. On the other side, the execution of the king has been extolled, in this and other countries, as a great act of national justice. But we have now learned to view controversies between rulers and their subjects, with a more temperate judgment. That the parliament, having taken up arms against the king and conquered, would have been justified in deposing him, can scarcely be questioned by any who accept the principles of the revolution of 1688. And such is the course which would have been appproved by the judgment of posterity. But few will be found to vindicate his execution as a traitor. The responsibility of the civil war was shared by the king and the parliament. They fought: they negociated; and at length the parliament prevailed. The king was their prisoner: but is it lawful to put a prisoner of war to death? He was condemned, not for his early abuses of prerogative, but simply for making war upon the parliament, and the people whom they represented,—a crime unknown to the laws of England. Nor was this the parliament whom the people had chosen. The royalists had been expelled

The judgment of posterity.

CHAP. XX.

as delinquents: the Presbyterians had been driven out by military force; the peers had been set aside; and a small minority of the king's bitterest enemies had been left to do the bidding of the victorious generals, who had resolved that their royal prisoner should die the death of a traitor. No sufficient plea of averting danger to the State, can be urged in defence of this act of political vengeance. Still less will the revelations of God's pleasure, as interpreted by religious, or hypocritical, enthusiasts, be accepted as an excuse. In truth, the execution of Charles was the worst, and, happily, one of the last, of the judicial murders by which the annals of England have been stained.

CHAPTER XXI.

ENGLAND—*continued.*

THE COMMONWEALTH—REPUBLICAN THEORIES—CROMWELL PROTECTOR—HIS ARBITRARY RULE—VIGOUR OF HIS ADMINISTRATION—HIS AMBITION—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—RICHARD CROMWELL—THE RESTORATION—REVOLUTION OF 1688—POLITICAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND FROM THAT PERIOD UNTIL THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

CHAP. XXI.

THE king was dead; and England was without a lawful government. The parties which had been unable to save his life, were powerless to call a successor to his throne; and the State became, by the force of circumstances, a republic or commonwealth, as Cromwell had designed it to be.[1] The commons resolved that the House of Peers and the monarchy should be abolished; and soon afterwards a Council of State was appointed, charged with the executive administration of the State. But as yet no republican constitution was promulgated.[2] At length acts were passed for the abolition of the kingly office and of the House of Lords; and the commons published a declaration, in which they explained the grounds upon which they had 'judged it

Provisional government.

Feb. 6 and 7, 1648–49.

Feb. 13.

March 17, 19.

[1] The principal authorities for this period are: Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, and *State Papers*; Bisset, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*; Walker, *Hist. of Independency*; Thurloe, *State Papers*; Burton, *Diary*; Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*; Guizot, *The Republic and Cromwell.*

[2] A new great seal was struck, with a motto inscribed 'On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648,' which may have served as a model to French republicans in the next century. Clarendon, *Hist.* vi. 247.

CHAP. XXI.

necessary to change the government of this nation from the former monarchy into a republic, and not to have any more a king to tyrannise over them.'[1] It was now declared that the people of England 'shall be and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be a Commonwealth and Free State.'

Republican theories.

There was no lack of republican theories. The levellers contended for a political and social equality, and a community of goods, not unlike the scheme of the French socialists of a later age.[2] The Millenarians,

[1] *Parl. Hist.* iii. 1292.

[2] Probably these extreme views were held by a small section only of the party generally described as levellers; while the majority were steady republicans, who opposed the pretensions of Cromwell and his officers. Some 'were willing to acknowledge the proprietors of lands, and principally the lords of manors, as their elder brothers, and rightfully possessed of the chief inheritance; but prayed to be allowed to cultivate the wastes and commons for their support' (Hutchinson, *Mem.* 317, *n.* Bohn's ed.) Walker, in his *History of Independency*, part ii. p. 138, says of them: 'They are the truest assertors of humane liberty, and the most constant and faithful to their principles of any in the army. . . . though they have many redundancies and superfluous opinions yet to be pruned off by conversing with discreet honest men, or rather, by a discreet and just publique authority.' Again he calls them 'enemies to arbitrary government, tyranny, and oppression, whether they find it in the government of one or many; whether in a councel of officers, a councel of state, or a fag end of a House of Commons; whether it vaile itselfe with the title of a supreme authority, or a legislative power.' And he here prints a declaration of that body entitled 'England's Standard advanced,' in which there is no trace of the peculiar views attributed to them (ibid. 168). Elsewhere he extracts from 'The Leveller Vindicated' the following passage: 'The whole fabrick of this commonwealth is fallen into the grossest and vilest tyranny that ever Englishmen groaned under, &c.,' in proof that their aim was to resist the martial domination of Cromwell and his officers (ibid. 248). Clarendon speaks of the levellers as a 'desperate party—many whereof had been the most active agitators in the army, who had executed his (Cromwell's) orders and designs in incensing the army against the Parliament, and had been at this time his sole confidents and bedfellows: who, from the time he assumed the title of protector, which to them was as odious as that of king, possessed a mortal hatred to his person' (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, vii. 34).

or fifth monarchy men, hoped to establish a theocracy, in which Christ should supersede the agencies of men, until his second coming.[1] The Anabaptists cherished a democratic ideal of the reign of reason in Church

In 'The Leveller, or the Principles and Maxims concerning government and religion which are asserted by those that are commonly called "Levellers,"' 1659, the tenets imputed to them of favouring a division of lands are denied. In politics their principles are there defined as equality before the law: the making of laws and levying of money by the people's deputies in Parliament, and the putting down of mercenary armies. In religion the widest toleration is asserted in some remarkable passages. It is said 'the only means to preach the true religion, under any government, is to endeavour rightly to inform the people's consciences, by whose dictates God commands them to be guided.' 'Christ never mentioned any penalties to be inflicted on the bodies or purses of unbelievers, because of their unbelief.'—*Harleian Miscellany*, iv. 543. See also Godwin, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, iii. 65; iv. 160–165, 260.

[1] The creed of this party is exemplified by the grotesque scene of the Five Lights, enacted at Walton-on-Thames by Master Faucet, the minister of the parish, in which he revealed the will of God, that the Sabbath, tithes, ministers, magistrates, and even the bible should be abolished as 'useless, now that Christ himself is in puritie of spirit come amongst us, and hath erected the kingdom of the saints upon earth. . . . now Christ is in glory amongst us' (Walker, *Hist. of Independency*, part. ii. 152). 'Some, struck with enthusiasm and besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none to have a share in government besides the saints, and these are called Christian royalists, or 'Fifth Monarchy men' (Clarendon, *Hist.* vii. 272). They believed 'in the reign of the saints on earth, being the millennium, or thousand years, spoken of in the book of Revelations, when men should live together in a state of sinless perfection, and vice and crime be wholly unknown.' According to them, 'all earthly governments are to be broken in pieces and removed, like the iron and clay that composed the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image. All the kingdoms of the world are to become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ.' 'Supreme absolute legislative power, and authority, are originally and essentially in the Lord Jesus Christ, by right, conquest, gift, election, and inheritance' (*Commons' Journ.* April 11, 1657, vii. 521; Thurloe, vi. 184–188; Ludlow, 462; Godwin, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, iv. 372–378). Even the sage Milton thus argued against monarchy: 'All Protestants hold that Christ in his Church hath left no vicegerent of his power, but himself without deputy is the only head thereof, governing it from heaven; how then can any man derive his kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the Pope his headship over the Church' (*Free Commonwealth*).

CHAP. XXI.

and State. The Antinomians indulged in a scheme by which the elect were to govern themselves from their inner consciousness. But these visionaries, while they swelled the ranks of the republican party, had no influence in determining the future settlement of the constitution; and they were generally opposed to the pretensions of Cromwell.[1] A more practical form of government had been sketched by a council of officers, in November 1647, in which all power was vested in a representative assembly.

Cromwell's supremacy.

But for the present, the settlement of the commonwealth was provisional. Cromwell was in reality supreme in the State, and in the army. He had not assumed the ostensible character of a civil governor, but became captain-general of the forces in England; and there was yet other work for him to do. Scotland, far from adopting a republic, proclaimed the Prince of Wales as king: a civil war was still raging in Ireland; and the prince raised the royal standard again in England. But Cromwell was equal to every emergency: the battle of Worcester utterly destroyed the last hopes of the royalists; and Charles escaped from his pursuers, to seek safety in a foreign land.

Sept 3, 1651.

The Long Parliament dissolved.

Cromwell now perceived that supreme power was within his reach, and even cherished dreams of reviving the monarchy, in his own person.[2] His immediate aim, however, was to secure his present ascendency. The people were held in subjection by force: there was no pretence of freedom: even trial by jury, in cases of treason, was superseded by a high court of justice:

[1] 'They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole body of sectaries, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him.'—Clarendon, *Hist.* vii. 254.

[2] Whitelock, 516.

but a settled government, and an assured title to power were wanting. After a time, the parliament began to show signs of independence. He broke in upon it with his soldiers: he took away 'that bauble,' the mace,—the emblem of its authority,—and dissolved the assembly which was no longer his slave. It was a rough *coup d'état*, executed without dignity or decency: but it showed the brute force of the military chief, and the contemptible impotence of the parliament, which, under his patronage, had exercised so terrible a power. The members whom he now insulted and trampled upon, were of his own Independent party: they had served his purpose for a time; and were now put out of his way. The royalists and the Presbyterians rejoiced over their fall; and the people were indifferent to the fate of a body which had long ceased to represent them.

April 10, 1653.

But, however absolute the power of Cromwell, in wielding the military force, he did not venture to govern without some semblance of a parliament; and not venturing upon any general appeal to the country, he summoned, by the advice of his council of officers, 128 persons, named by himself, to sit as a parliament at Westminster. Having separated himself from the more moderate section of the Independents, he chose for this strange assembly a number of fanatics, possessed with the wildest views of religion and politics. Never was so godly a parliament brought together: they spent more time in prayers than in debate; and, instead of enlightening one another by words of worldly wisdom, they were for ever seeking the Lord. Even in that age of religious extravagance, this devout body became an object of derision; and, acquiring the name

Barebone's Parliament.

CHAP. XXI.

of one of its most ridiculous members, was laughed at as 'Barebone's Parliament.' Believing the earth to be already ripe for the reign of the saints, they were bent upon the destruction of such merely human institutions as the clergy, tithes, the universities, the common law, and the lawyers. So contemptible an assembly was never collected in this or any other country. Even Cromwell was ashamed of its absurdities, and ill-pleased that his own creatures should affect to derive their power from the Lord, instead of from himself.[1] The pretended parliament was therefore dissolved as irregularly as it had been called together. The Speaker and a few of its members resigned its authority to Cromwell, in the name of the whole body; and the rest were turned out by his soldiers.

Dec. 12, 1653.

Cromwell protector.

England was now literally without a civil government. Cromwell ruled it as captain-general of the forces: but there was no parliament, and even the army perceived that their general should be invested with some civil authority. A council of officers, at his instance, drew up a new constitution, under which he was declared Protector for life. It was a strange function for a military council to frame a political constitution: even Barebone's parliament would have been a fitter body for such a work. But the new scheme so far did them credit, that Cromwell was not entrusted with absolute power. The protector, indeed, was all but king, but he was to be controlled by a council of State: he was bound to summon a parliament every three years, which was to sit for five months without being prorogued or dissolved; and was only allowed a suspensive veto upon

Constitution of the protectorate.

[1] Thurloe, i. 393. Clarendon, *Hist.* vii. 13.

their acts for twenty days. Until the parliament was assembled, the protector in council might pass laws, subject to the approval of parliament.[1] Nor did it appear that this parliament was to be a phantom of representation, like those which had preceded it. The protector framed a new scheme, or reform act, which disfranchised the smaller boroughs, increased the number of county members, enfranchised Manchester, Leeds, and Halifax, and equalised the qualifications of electors,—a measure nearly two centuries in advance of the policy of his own time.[2] For the first time, also, he effected a parliamentary union with Scotland and Ireland;[3] and thirty members were returned by each of these countries to the parliament at Westminster.

The new parliament, 1654.

The results of a free election, under this extended scheme of representation, proved how little Cromwell had secured the confidence of the people. Royalists, Presbyterians, Independents, and Republicans, united against him. His authority as protector was questioned in the very first debate of the new parliament: but Cromwell sent for the members to the Painted Chamber, and rebuked them with more than the haughtiness of a Plantagenet or Tudor king. Charles in his lectures to his parliaments had been gentle compared with the usurper. The Protector obliged them to sign an acknowledgment of his authority; and none were admitted to their places in the house until they had signed it. But their refractory spirit was not overcome, and he dissolved them.

Jan. 22, 1654–55.

[1] Whitelock, 571; *Somers' Tracts*, vi. 257; Thurloe, vi. 243.

[2] Act for the Settlement of the Government of the Commonwealth, Dec. 16, 1653.

[3] Ordinance, April 12, 1654.

CHAP. XXI.

Cromwell governs, with the army, 1655.

Again, without a parliament, and opposed by all political parties, Cromwell relied upon the army alone; and an abortive rising of the royalists afforded him a pretext for extending the military occupation of the country. To punish the royalists the protector, in council, imposed a 'decimation,' or tax of a tenth-penny, upon that party; and for the collection of this tax, divided England into twelve military districts, under major-generals, who exercised uncontrolled power throughout the country. There was no longer a pretence of civil liberty: England was openly governed by a dictator and his army. Taxes were levied at the sole will of the protector, and exacted with more rigour than any former taxes by prerogative: there was a strict censorship of the press; and subjects were denied redress against the arbitrary acts of the government.

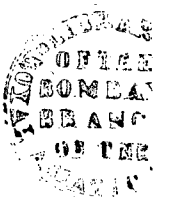
Vigour of his rule.

Cromwell was an usurper, and had trampled upon all the liberties of the people: but even his enemies could not deny that he was a great ruler. At home he had subdued the rebellions and disorders of England, Scotland, and Ireland: he had maintained a respect for the law: he had displayed a spirit of religious toleration far in advance of his times: he had shown marks of high statesmanship; and he had upheld the dignity of the first magistrate of the commonwealth. Abroad he had made the name of England as much respected and feared as in the palmiest days of Queen Elizabeth. It was his boast that an Englishman should be held in the same esteem as a Roman citizen of antiquity. The warlike spirit of England had been aroused by the civil wars: her generals and soldiers had been perfected in the arts

CHAP. XXI.

and toils of war; and the concentration of power in a single hand gave vigour and efficiency to the naval and military forces of England. No State is more powerful in war than a republic when its resources are wielded by a dictator, supported by the enthusiasm of the people, or coerced by his extraordinary authority. The victories of Blake established the naval supremacy of England, which has never since been shaken:[1] the commonwealth triumphed over Holland and Spain; and exercised a commanding influence over France, Sweden, and other European States. The foreign policy of the protector, if not prudent, in the interests of England, was especially popular with the great body of the people, as it ever favoured the Protestant subjects of foreign States. Amidst all the divisions of party, Englishmen had begun to be proud of their great ruler, who had raised the glories of his country: but so bitter were the hatreds excited by the civil wars, that he was continually threatened with assassination; and the political parties, upon whom he had successively trampled, were alienated, and hostile.

1652–1657.



Meanwhile, Cromwell was himself fully sensible of the disadvantages and dangers of a military rule, and was anxious to secure the support of another parliament. Accordingly, in 1656, he issued writs for the election of representatives; and hoped, by the credit of his administration, and by the influence of his officers over the electors, to secure a majority friendly to his government. But, notwithstanding an active interference of the army with the elections, he found the new parliament hostile; and it was only by forcibly

He calls another parliament, 1656.

Sept., 1656.

[1] For a narrative of these victories, Hepworth Dixon's *Life of Blake* may be consulted.

CHAP. XXI.

excluding a hundred members, that he was able to secure a majority.

Cromwell's ambition.

The unbounded ambition of Cromwell was not satisfied with his present dignity. Unlike the great patriot, William of Orange, who had rescued his country from tyranny, he aspired to a crown; and it was the mission of his parliamentary friends to place this prize within his reach. This proposal was accordingly made; and, despite the resistance of the chief officers of the army, was accepted by a large majority. A committee was appointed to confer with the protector, and to persuade him to become their king. Never had Cromwell been agitated by such doubts and misgivings. That he coveted the crown for himself and his descendants, is certain: that he had himself prompted the offer, which was now made to him, cannot be doubted: that he believed its acceptance would confirm his own power, and secure the settlement and tranquillity of the country, can scarcely be questioned. Yet the obstacles he encountered were grave and perilous. The fiercest republicans in the land were his own generals, and fanatical soldiery. They had been taught to abhor a king, with pious horror, as Antichrist: they had followed their great chief as the enemy of crowned heads. Could they now be prevailed upon to forswear the republic, and to make their leader a king to reign over them? The army had long been his sole support: could he now brave their fierce resentment? He was threatened with assassination if he mounted the throne, which he had himself cast down: could he defy his assassins? He was bold enough to confront these dangers: but his own family, and truest friends, besought him

to decline the proffered crown; and, after a long struggle with his doubts and forebodings, the protector announced his determination to resist the great temptation, by which he had, for a time, been overcome. The greatest weakness ever betrayed by his strong nature, was this ill-disguised longing for the crown, which, when laid at his feet, he did not venture to raise to his brow.

Confirmed as lord protector, May 19, 1657.

But, having refused the crown, he was glad to receive from the parliament a confirmation of his powers, under the title of Lord Protector. Hitherto his title had been derived from the army: it was now confirmed by parliament: his revenue was settled; and he was empowered to nominate his successor. At the same time, a second chamber was revived, under the name of the other house.

Opposition of the parliament, Jan. 20, 1657–58.

When Cromwell next met his parliament, he profited little by his new parliamentary title. The opposition had recovered strength: the republicans, in the commons, were indignant with the other house, which had assumed the title of the Lords' house;[1] and Cromwell angrily dissolved the parliament which had offered him the crown, and confirmed his powers as protector. Dissolutions had become as frequent as in the reign of Charles I.

Feb. 4.

Death of Cromwell.

But his days were now drawing to a close. Beset with difficulties and anxieties: apprehending revolts in the army: in constant dread of assassination; and harassed by discords in his own family, he was stricken with mortal illness; and he died, at the meridian of his power, and in the most threatening crisis of his fortunes.

Sept. 3, 1658.

[1] Whitelock, 665; *Parl. Hist.* iii. 1523; Thurloe, vi. 1107.

CHAP. XXI.

Character of Cromwell.

Cromwell was the foremost Englishman of his age; and may claim a place among the great men of history. As a soldier, his self-taught genius was conspicuous. In the field he was at once bold and circumspect: in the camp he knew how best to recruit and organise his forces, what officers to trust, and how to sustain the warlike spirit and devotion of his army. In civil affairs he was no less bold and cautious than in war: his ambition and fanaticism urged him to undertake the boldest enterprises: but he veiled them with the most profound dissimulation. Instruments were never wanting to further his ambition: religion was ever found to sanction his most questionable acts. His hypocrisy and dissimulation, which impair his title to greatness, were mainly due to the peculiar religious school of which he was an accomplished professor. When God's pleasure was assumed for every design of a bold and ambitious man, he naturally seemed a hypocrite in the eyes of all but the elect. He had brought a king to the scaffold, and had founded a republic: but he displayed no love of liberty. In the early contests of the parliament with Charles I. he laboured with the other leaders of the popular party to secure the rights of the people: but when the civil war broke out, the principles of liberty were set at defiance,—as they always are in times of revolution. When he exercised supreme power in the State, he governed by the army, and trampled upon parliaments. He had carried his supremacy by force: the authority of successive parliaments had no better foundation than his own; and as the master of twenty legions, he refused to submit to them. When all parties were leagued against him, he could only rule by the sword.

CHAP. XXI.

His toleration.

In religion only did he display a greater sense of freedom than many of his contemporaries. While the Presbyterians were in the ascendent, they proved themselves more intolerant than Laud and his bishops: but Cromwell, belonging to a sect which professed congregational independence, naturally leaned to toleration. But, as he excepted from his favour Roman Catholics and prelatists, his principles were scarcely those of a broad and comprehensive toleration.[1] He fell short of the ideal spiritual liberty for which Milton then contended,[2] and which was not destined to be fully realised for two hundred years: but he was in advance of his own age, and of the narrow sectaries by whom he was surrounded.

Richard Cromwell protector.

The strong hand of Cromwell alone was able to maintain the commonwealth; and it did not long survive the accession of his feeble son Richard. Royalists, Presbyterians, and honest republicans were united in their aversion to the military rule of the protector: the tyranny of the major-generals had exasperated all classes of the people; and such was the irreconcileable division of parties, that a settled constitutional government, under a commonwealth, was impracticable. But Richard had to meet a still greater danger. His father

[1] The extent of Cromwell's toleration may be judged by consulting the following authorities: Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 98, iv. 28, 138, 144, 338, &c.; Whitelock, *Mem.* 499, 576, 614; Collier, *Hist.* 829; Bates' *Elen.* pt. ii. 211; Clarendon, *Hist.* vii. 253; Baxter's *Life*, i. 64; Kennet, *Hist.* iii. 206; Rushworth, vii. 308; Short, *Hist.* 425; Brook, *Hist. of Relig. Lib.* i. 504, 513–528.

[2] 'The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him for that purpose, by the reading of his revealed will, and the guidance of his own Spirit.'—Milton, *Free Commonwealth.*

CHAP. XXI.

had kept down every faction, by his army: but the foremost generals, and leading fanatics of the army, were now conspiring against himself. He had summoned a parliament which seemed not unfriendly to his rule: but the generals insisted upon its immediate dissolution.

April 22, 1659. He consented; and a few days later, resigned his protectorate.

The Long Parliament revived. England was ruled again by the army alone: but the council of officers, in order to give some pretence of civil authority to their rule, revived the Long Parliament. With the subtlety of old lawyers, they maintained that, as this parliament had never consented to its own dissolution, it was still lawfully in existence, and need only resume its sittings. And accordingly this singular body, consisting of about seventy members, proceeded to sit, with their old speaker Lenthal in the chair. But this pretence of legality was sufficiently exposed by the continued exclusion of the members whom Cromwell had forcibly turned out. No wonder that this absurd assemblage should have been called, with the coarse humour of the age, 'the Rump.' But the revival of the Long Parliament proved a double error. It was more hateful to the people than the army itself; and it endeavoured to become the master, instead of the slave, of the generals. The unpopularity of both these powers, and the anarchy into which the State seemed drifting, encouraged a royalist movement. This, however, was soon repressed: when the army proceeded to disperse the parliament. The authority of the latter was replaced by a 'committee of safety,' chosen by the officers of the army themselves

Oct. 13, 1659.

Anarchy. In truth, however, the country was without a

government: it was profoundly disturbed, and longing for some settlement: rival generals were following their own ambitions; and a civil war was imminent between different divisions of the army. Again the Long Parliament was revived, which so far served the cause of order, that it broke up the republican army under Fleetwood and Lambert.

Dec. 26, 1659.

General Monk.

From this deplorable anarchy the country was rescued by the prudent caution of General Monk. Marching from the north at the head of his army, he found the people everywhere disposed for the restoration of royalty, to which his own wishes and judgment inclined. But, refraining from any premature disclosure of his designs, which might have frustrated their execution, he marched on to Westminster. There he insisted upon the resuscitated parliament dissolving itself; and, in order to ensure its obedience, he restored the excluded members to their places.

March 16, 1659.

Long Parliament dissolved.

The Long Parliament was at last effectually dissolved; and the history of that body, and of every other parliament, since the commencement of the civil war, shows that in times of revolution, freedom of election, and freedom of discussion, in a legislative body, are unknown. The legislature is subservient to the dominant party in the army, or among the populace; and independence is incompatible with the conditions of a revolutionary government.

The restoration.

A free parliament was now to be chosen, and a general enthusiasm was shown in favour of the monarchy. Presbyterians who had fought against the late king were now vying with the royalists, who had fought by his side, to recal his son to the throne of his ancestors. The people, wearied by civil wars,

CHAP. XXI.

military oppression, burthensome taxes, and anarchy, cried aloud for a revival of the good old times before the commonwealth. That government had brought neither peace nor liberty to the people: it had disappointed the hopes of republicans:[1] it had dispelled the visions of religious and political enthusiasts: it had outraged all the parties, in succession, which had taken part in the revolution and civil war. Meanwhile, Monk, who still kept his own counsels, had taken effectual measures for disabling, and holding in check, the scattered forces of the republican army; and when the new parliament met, the restoration of Charles was unanimously voted, amidst the acclamations of the people. The lords returned to their places in the upper house, and joined in the popular vote.

Judicious caution of Monk.

Monk was blamed, at the time, by partisans of the king, and since by many writers, for undue caution and reserve, in this delicate enterprise: but his reticence disarmed the dangerous resistance of the republicans in the army, the parliament, and the country; and it secured the constitutional restoration of the monarchy by a free parliament, instead of by military force. He had maintained the peace of the country, while it freely pronounced its opinion, instead of restoring his sovereign by a *coup d'état*; and his politic measures contributed to the enthusiasm with which Charles was received by his joyful people. Stern republicans com-

[1] 'Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the West? The foundation they lay gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the tower of Babel; and have left no memorial of their work behind them remaining but in the common laughter of Europe.'—Milton, *Free Commonwealth.*

plained with Milton[1] that, 'having been delivered by the Lord from a king, they were returning to the captivity from whence he freed them:' but the multitude received their hereditary king with loyal devotion.

Effects of the civil war upon the monarchy.

For eighteen years the country had suffered all the evils of civil war, of military oppression and anarchy; and at length the monarchy was restored, with its ancient prerogatives undiminished. The revolution seemed to have borne no fruit: another king reigned in the place of him who had been sacrificed to the cause of liberty: but otherwise the political constitution of England appeared to be unchanged. But, in truth, the late struggles had materially altered the relations of the people to the crown. The power of the parliament, and of the commons of England, had been demonstrated; and a democratic spirit had been suddenly aroused among the people. The responsibilities of kings and statesmen had been terribly illustrated: the traditional reverence for power, whether exercised by king or parliament, had been rudely shaken. The political sentiments of the nation had also been awakened by the impassioned appeals of the pulpit and the press. Throughout this revolutionary period of our history, the pulpit had made its religious mission subservient to political agitation; and the religious fanaticism of the time became identified with its fierce political passions. The activity of the press was unexampled: the rise of political writings, for universal circulation, may be dated from this time: of

[1] 'As if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry hereafter, who once delivered by him from a king, and not without wondrous acts of his providence, insensible and unworthy of those high mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withhold us not, back to the captivity from whence he freed us.'—*Free Commonwealth.*

CHAP. XXI.

which thirty thousand political pamphlets and newspapers have been preserved.[1] A deep interest in politics was aroused by the personal conflicts and sufferings of the civil war. The political results of the revolution were briefly these: increased political knowledge, a more independent spirit, quickened popular instincts, and greater powers of combination among the people, without any sensible diminution of their traditional loyalty. They had learned their powers of resistance to prerogative: but they had also suffered from the oppression of usurping parliaments, and republican armies. The lessons they had learned led them to value liberty more than ever, and to associate it with a constitutional monarchy.

Reaction under Charles II.

Upon the restoration, the work of the late revolution was speedily undone. The monarchy was reinstated without any new limitations: the House of Lords was admitted to its ancient privileges: prelacy was revived: the bishops were restored to their seats in parliament; and the Presbyterian and Puritan clergy, who had obtained benefices in the church in the late anti-prelatical times, were thrust out again by a rigorous act of uniformity. The church, restored to her former ascendency, further avenged herself upon the Puritans, for her late prostration, with penal laws, and civil disabilities. These severities, which delighted royalists and churchmen, were not unacceptable to the great body of the people. The gloomy fanaticism, and religious extravagances of their late rulers, had disgusted them with the praying and preaching sects, who were

[1] They were collected by Mr. Thomasson, and occupy 2,000 volumes in the British Museum. Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, i. 175; Knight, *Old Printer and Modern Press*, 199.

now in disgrace, and drove them to the opposite extreme of royalist license. CHAP. XXI.

Every sign betokened a complete revival of the former government in Church and State: the revolution appeared to have left no traces of its destructive force. But it was soon to be discovered that the people, educated in freedom, were prepared to resist, by force, any invasion of their rights. And, in later times, the alienation of the nonconformists bore fruits, in the weakening of the church establishment, and the strengthening of popular movements in favour of civil and religious liberty. Elements of future freedom.

The renewed confidence of the English people in the Stuarts was ill requited. Before many years had passed, Charles II. was shamefully intriguing with his great neighbour Louis XIV., for aid in repressing the liberties, and subverting the religion, of his own subjects.[1] The last years of his life were spent in straining his prerogatives: while his courtiers, lawyers, and high churchmen proclaimed his divine right, and inculcated upon his subjects the duty of passive obedience. The monarchy seemed as powerful as in the early years of Charles I. The lessons of that reign had been forgotten; and Charles died too soon to be reminded of them. Charles II. 1673. 1670.

But his brother, James II., more blind than himself to the political experience of his family, and to the signs of the times, was rudely awakened to the danger of trifling with the liberties and the religion of his country. Such were the sentiments of loyalty, by which the great body of the people were animated, and such the subservience of parliament,—influenced James II.

[1] Dalrymple, 162, 230, 237.

CHAP. XXI.

by corruption and artful 'management,'—that James's monstrous designs upon the civil liberties of England might not have provoked resistance. But, as he was clearly bent upon restoring the Roman Catholic faith, which was odious to the whole country, churchmen and nonconformists, and the friends of civil liberty united against him, and expelled him from his throne. The very bishops who had preached the doctrines of non-resistance, and the University of Oxford which had asserted the divine rights of the Lord's anointed, were now foremost in resisting his dangerous encroachments upon the liberties and religion of the people.

Revolution of 1688.

Democracy bore so small a part in 'the glorious revolution' of 1688, that its incidents need not here be dwelt upon. But it can scarcely be doubted that so prompt and general a resistance to James could not have been organised, unless the people had been prepared, by the traditions of the great rebellion, to withstand invasions of their rights, and even to take up arms against their king. The opposition to Charles was inflamed and embittered by religious passions; and his son encountered the same dangerous union of political and religious zeal. In both cases, the English people determined to maintain their rights, even by the sword, against the unlawful acts of their sovereign. Twice they overcame the reverence and awe in which the majesty of the king was held. Twice they rebelled, when rebellion was accounted a sin. And now the revolution, not for the first time,[1]—recognised the right of subjects to resist violations of their lawful rights.

For centuries the supreme and indefeasible rights

[1] *Supra*, pp. 438, 439.

CHAP. XXI.

Principles of the revolution of 1688.

of the monarchy had been maintained: but henceforth it became a constitutional maxim that the parliament and people of England could depose a king for a violation of the laws, and place another upon his throne.[1] The right of changing and limiting the succession to the crown, and defining its prerogatives, was also maintained by parliament. From this time forth, the monarchy, while still based upon hereditary right, was unquestionably subject to the laws of the realm, and to the judgment of the parliament and people of England. It was a constitutional monarchy, brought into harmony with a free people, and democratic institutions.

Securities for public liberty.

The revolution of 1688 is a memorable example of the temperate and orderly spirit of English freedom. Every security was taken for the public liberties: every principle affirmed that was essential to the government of a free people: yet were these popular privileges maintained, not in the spirit of democracy, but in assertion of lawful rights and franchises. The revolution, indeed, was founded upon the democratic principle, that the judgment and will of the people should prevail over hereditary rights, and royal prerogatives. But the statesmen and parties, who affirmed that principle, were as far removed as possible from the character of democrats. It formed no part of their design to favour the ascendency of the people in the national councils.

[1] The terms of the celebrated resolution of the commons, Jan. 28, 1688 (agreed to by the lords on Feb. 6) were these: 'That King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant.'

CHAP. XXI.

They had appealed to the sentiments of their countrymen, in defence of their religion and liberties: but so soon as the revolution had been achieved, they were prepared to govern on the old lines of the constitution.

Characteristics of the revolution of 1688.

The stability of the settlement of 1688 was due to the respect in which it held the ancient laws and institutions of the State. There was no theoretical reconstruction of institutions: no irreverence for traditions: no neglect of the interests of different classes. The constitution had been the growth of many centuries: its fundamental laws and liberties were well known, and cherished by the people: kings had lately violated them, and had been deposed: the commonwealth had outraged them, and had perished; and now the constitution was restored to its normal limits. The prerogatives of the crown were restrained, and placed in trust for the welfare of the people: securities were taken for the due execution of the laws: the church was secured in its faith, its polity, and its revenues, while freedom of worship was extended to other communions: the peers were maintained in their ancient honours and privileges: the commons were confirmed in their independence, and in their valued right of taxation: the people were assured of their liberties; and the property and interests of all parties and classes were respected. Such a revolution was not the triumph of one party over another; but the renovation of the State, in the spirit of its own traditions and predilections.

William III.

Such being the spirit of the revolution, the reign of William III. was marked by a vigorous spirit of constitutional reform. The prerogatives of the crown were limited: the authority of parliament was enlarged. Henceforth, the military forces, and the resources of

the crown, became absolutely subject to the will of parliament. Many remedial laws were passed for securing freedom of election, the independence of parliament, and the liberty of the subject: but all were conceived in a constitutional spirit, and were consistent with the principles of a limited monarchy. In none of the legislation, or parliamentary debates, is there to be found a trace of revolutionary or republican sentiments. No republican party appears to have survived the commonwealth. But the spirit of free inquiry, which had been aroused by the struggles of that period, continued to animate the speculative and controversial writers of William's reign; and the principles affirmed by the revolution, when hotly pressed into their service, could not fail to assume a republican colour. To dwell upon the sovereignty of the people: to urge that all civil government is founded upon the consent of society, and an original contract between the people and their rulers, was unquestionably to maintain the principles of democracy. But such abstract speculations, which were common at this time,[1] were without influence upon the practical government of the State. The theories of John Locke affected the political movements of his own age, no more than the 'Republic' of Plato, the 'Utopia' of Sir Thomas More, the 'Ecclesiastical Polity' of Hooker,[2] or the 'Free Commonwealth' of Milton.

The Whig writers and pamphleteers of the reign of William, founding their arguments upon the principles of the revolution, often advanced propositions which exposed them to the taunt of republicanism from their opponents: but nothing could be more harmless

[1] See *Somers' Tracts*, especially x. 148; and *State Tracts* of William III., 3 vols. fol.

[2] See books i. and viii.

CHAP. XXI.

than their writings. It was their aim to uphold the principles, and defend the conduct, of their own party, —to advocate measures which they favoured,—and to expose the reactionary principles of their Tory rivals. Their controversies were nothing more than the contentions of rival parliamentary parties, seeking for power and advancement under the monarchy; and to reproach the Whig writers of that day with democratic sentiments can only provoke a smile.

The Whig party.

Whatever the principles of the revolution, and of the Whig party, who were its representatives and exponents, it is certain that democracy formed no part of the politics of England. The most advanced opinions were entirely consistent with all the institutions of a limited monarchy. And how far did the principles of freedom, contended for by the most liberal of the political parties, transcend their practice?

The representation.

In the reign of William, the rights of parliament were fully established: the House of Commons acquired its proper place in the legislature, as guardian of the interests of the people. But how were the people represented? It has been demonstrated, again and again, that a general representation of the country had become almost a fiction. The county members were generally the nominees of great territorial nobles: a large proportion of the borough members owed their seats to the crown, to local magnates, and to close corporations; and even the representatives of more considerable places, too often acquired their seats by bribery and other corrupt influences. Seats in parliament were purchased with no more compunction than lands, houses, or the public funds. They were a political investment, recognised by society, and not yet condemned by public

opinion. Hence, the House of Commons, though it often gave expression to popular sentiments, represented not so much the people, as the crown and the territorial aristocracy. Nor was this all. The House of Commons had lately proved itself too dangerous a body, even under franchises so limited, to be trusted with the free exercise of its powers; and, soon after the restoration, the 'management' of that body became one of the arts of statesmanship. It was not enough for rulers to command the representation: it was further necessary to secure the services of the representatives themselves, and their fidelity to the governing party. Hence arose the greatest reproach upon the history of our constitution,—the system of securing parliamentary support by places and pensions, and even by grosser forms of pecuniary corruption.[1]

Power of the aristocracy.

By these electoral and parliamentary abuses, the crown and the aristocracy contrived to emasculate the popular representation of their country. Meanwhile, the crown, having lost much of its power by the revolution, and by the measures which followed it, the government fell easily into the hands of the great territorial families, who had most influence over the House of Commons. It has even been contended that the constitution of England had become an oligarchy: but, happily, the principles of English freedom were not overthrown. The Whigs, who were identified with the reigning family, continued to assert the liberal principles which had called it to the throne; and even their Tory rivals were fain

[1] This sketch of the abuses of parliamentary representation is necessarily brief; but a full review of them will be found in the sixth chapter of the author's *Constitutional History of England since the accession of George III.*, 5th ed.

CHAP. XXI.

to borrow them, in their endeavours to obtain popular support. The rivalry of parties favoured liberty; and popular institutions, however corrupted, kept alive the free spirit of the nation. Parliamentary government was assuming a form most favourable to freedom. Ministers of the crown, no longer able to govern the State without the confidence of parliament, were constrained to defer to public opinion; and whatever of personal power was thus lost to the crown was gained by the people. At the same time, the growing influence of the press,—corrupt and venal as it was,—became a safeguard against misgovernment, and flagrant abuses of power.

From the revolution to George III.

From the revolution to the accession of George III., while England enjoyed more freedom than any country in the world, there are no traces of democracy. There were, indeed, two dangerous rebellions: but they aimed at the restoration of the reactionary Stuarts, who had been deposed for violating the liberties of the people. That the people could be aroused to a successful resistance of unpopular measures, was proved by the resolute opposition of the Irish, under the influence of Swift's celebrated 'Drapier's Letters,' to the introduction of Wood's new halfpence into Ireland: [1] by the popular clamours against Sir R. Walpole's excise scheme: by the riotous agitation of the metropolis against the gin act, which led to its repeal [2]; and, again, by the successful outcry for the repeal of the recent act for the naturalisation of the Jews. But such explosions of popular discontent were not signs of a democratic spirit

1723.

1733.

1736–1742.

1754.

[1] See a spirited account in Thackeray's *Humorists* (Swift) as well as in the usual histories.

[2] Smollett, *Hist.* ii. 331, 428.

among the people. In all countries, even the most despotic,—in Asia, in Turkey, in the autocratic States of Europe, and in all ages,—such outbreaks have been known. But they are evidences not of freedom of opinion, or of popular control over the government: but of the sufferings, passions, and prejudices of the multitude. They have, indeed, been most frequent in States in which there was the least hope of securing the redress of grievances by constitutional means. Free institutions have formed the best safeguards against popular tumults. During this period, many useful securities were devised for public liberty; and the commonalty, rapidly advancing in numbers, wealth and intelligence, were laying the foundations of increased political power.

Ascendency of the crown, the church, and the proprietors of the soil.

Powerful middle classes were rapidly rising up: but as yet the crown, the church, the nobles, and the country gentlemen were in the ascendent. In wealth, dignity, public respect, and social influence, they prevailed over all other classes; and their political power corresponded with their commanding position in society. The church had recovered from the rough assaults of Presbyterians and Independents, and was enjoying a period of repose and security. Dissenters, discountenanced and repressed by civil disabilities, were no longer dreaded as enemies of the establishment. The clergy, inert and indifferent, were losing much of their spiritual influence: but, in union with the crown and the proprietors of the soil, they wielded a great social and political power.

The church.

The clergy.

The nobles.

The nobles, continually increasing in numbers, and enriched by the spoils of the church, by grants of crown lands, by great offices, by inheritance, and by

CHAP. XXI.

alliances, had become possessed of extensive territories in every county. Like their forefathers, they cherished their country homes. They built noble mansions: they surrounded themselves with parks, woods, and pleasure grounds: their domains were tastefully planted, cultivated, and fenced: the traveller recognised them, at a glance, as the stately abodes of the great and noble. These surroundings were more congenial to their tastes than the attractions of the capital. James I. had discouraged their resort to Whitehall;[1] but Charles II. had seduced many from their retirement, by the gaieties and pleasures of his profligate court. Like the nobles of Louis XIV., they were in danger of exchanging their feudal power, in the country, for the frivolous life of gilded courtiers. But this peril to their order passed away, in succeeding reigns; and the nobles continued to enjoy the power, without the invidious privileges of feudalism. As leaders of society: as magistrates: as patrons of every local enterprise, their influence was paramount.

The country gentlemen.

The country gentlemen formed another section of the aristocracy of the land. Many boasted of a lineage as ancient as that of the proudest peer; and in wealth and influence this more considerable body even surpassed the peerage: but these two orders, instead of impairing their power by political rivalries, were firmly united in principles and interests; and made common cause in maintaining the ascendency of the

[1] 'He was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country seats. And sometimes he would say thus to them: "Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things."'—Lord Bacon, *Apophthegms*; Hume, *Hist.* iv. 355.

proprietors of the soil over all other classes of society. Their power was confirmed by their extraordinary influence over the clergy. The bishops were the relatives, college friends, and tutors of nobles and ministers of State; and a large proportion of the clergy owed their benefices to the favour of lay patrons. Most of them were connected with the county families; and all were beholden to the peer, or to the squire, for hospitality and social courtesies. Never was a church so closely identified with the land. A society so constituted naturally commanded political supremacy, until other classes should arise to contest it; and this development of social forces, already silently advancing, was to reveal itself in later times.

CHAPTER XXII.

ENGLAND—*continued.*

FIRST YEARS OF GEORGE III.—THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—REPRESSION OF PUBLIC OPINION—REIGN OF GEORGE IV.—SOCIAL CHANGES—GROWTH OF TOWNS—INCREASE OF DISSENT—DISTURBANCE OF THE BALANCE OF POWER—THE PRESS AND POLITICAL AGITATION—POPULAR REPRESENTATION—SALUTARY REFORMS—DEMOCRATIC ASPECTS OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT—LOYALTY—CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY.

CHAP. XXII.

First years of George III.

THE first twenty years of George III.'s reign displayed the augmented force and activity of popular movements. That monarch endeavoured to revive the personal influence of the sovereign, in the government of the State, which had been little exercised since the time of William III.; and his unpopular measures aroused a spirit of opposition, which suddenly revealed the power of public opinion, and developed new agencies for giving expression to it. The storm of ridicule and abuse by which the royal favourite, Lord Bute, was driven from favour: the bold and artful agitation of Wilkes: the increasing boldness of the press: the triumphant persistence of the printers in publishing Parliamentary debates: the turbulent spirit of the people: the influence of public meetings and political associations; and the increasing freedom of speech in Parliament,[1] were symptoms of a democratic force long unknown in England.

[1] See the author's *Constitutional History*, chaps. vii. viii. ix., for a more particular account of these movements.

The war of American independence.

This popular movement received an extraordinary impulse from the revolt of the American colonies. The contest between the two great English parties, in relation to the insurgent colonists, brought out, in bold relief, the democratic principles of 1642, and 1688—the unlawfulness of taxation without the consent of the taxpayers, through their representatives, and the right of the people to resist oppression by force. This controversy encouraged the formation of a small democratic party in England:[1] while the ultimate success of the rebellion, and the triumph of the English party which had espoused the cause of the colonies, further advanced the principles of democracy.

Its effects greater in France than in England.

But it was in France, far more than in England, that the struggle of the American colonies for independence encouraged the spirit of democracy. Whatever the abstract principles involved in the contest between the mother country and her colonies, the honour and interests of England were at stake, and the feelings of Englishmen were naturally enlisted in support of their own country: while in France, which had made common cause with the colonies against England, the principles of her new allies were eagerly espoused, and popularised. Englishmen, again, were generally contented with their constitutional freedom: while the French were suffering from the accumulated ills of many centuries of arbitrary rule. Hence, in England, the popular excitement caused by the American war of independence soon subsided: while in France, it contributed, with other grave causes of political and

[1] Stephen, *Life of Horne Tooke*, i. 162–175, ii. 28; Cooke, *Hist. of Party*, iii. 188; Wyvill, *Political Papers*, ii. 463.

CHAP. XXII.

social discontent, to the momentous revolution of 1789.[1]

Democratic movement in England, 1792.

The sympathy which vibrates, with mysterious force, through different nations, in times of revolution, was illustrated upon this, as upon other similar occasions.[2] It was now followed by an active democratic movement in England and Scotland. It failed to reach any considerable number of the people: it embraced no persons of position or influence; and it was sternly repressed by the authority of Parliament.[3] If France had contented herself with the redress of her acknowledged grievances, and the establishment of well-ordered liberty, she would have commanded the sympathy of most Englishmen: but her revolutionary excesses at once revolted and alarmed them. The principles of the French revolutionary leaders were wholly foreign to English sentiments; and their wild bloodthirstiness outraged humanity. Hence the higher and middle classes of English society not only recoiled from any contract with democracy: but, in their determination to repress it, notwithstanding the eloquent remonstrances of Fox and other popular leaders, were forgetful of their cherished principles of liberty.

Effects of the French revolution.

The revolutionary wars and propagandism of France increased the repugnance of English society to French principles; and democracy appeared to be utterly crushed. The severity of the laws, and the overwhelming force of public opinion, combined to stamp it out. But the influence of the French revolution, throughout Europe, was never effaced. It has since borne fruits in every

[1] See *supra*, ii. 130 *et seq.*

[2] *E.g.* 1830, 1848. *Supra*, pp. 244, 272.

[3] See chap. ix. of the author's *Constitutional History.*

country;[1] and in England, democracy, though effectually repressed, as an outward danger to the State, or to the governing classes, from that time became a political force, which was destined to acquire increasing power and development. For thirty years the repressive policy of the government was maintained: prosecutions of the press abounded; and the popular discontents of the last years of the regency brought down upon the press, and upon public meetings, restrictions of increased severity.

The Six Acts. 1819.

But the six acts of Lord Sidmouth, may be taken as the turning-point in the fortunes of English liberties. Under the dark shadows of the French revolution, society had supported the repressive measures of the government: but in 1819, when the fires of that revolution had burned out, and democracy was no longer a danger, or a bugbear, restraints upon public liberty were received with far less favour. They were opposed by many eminent statesmen, by the Whig party in Parliament, and by a strong popular sentiment in the country, which continued throughout the reign of George IV.

Social changes.

And during this long period of repression, society had undergone remarkable changes. It had advanced in power, in knowledge, and in political sentiment. The middle classes had attained far higher influence and consideration; and new generations were claiming a fuller recognition in society and in politics, than any

[1] 'Cette date de 1789 est la grande date de tous les peuples. Beaucoup d'institutions sont tombées à cette date; celles qui ne sont pas tombées se sont transformées; quelques-unes qui paraissent vivre, ne sont plus que des ombres. Dans la pratique de tous les peuples, et dans la spéculation de tous les peuples, est la trace philosophique de la Révolution Française.'—Jules Simon, *La Liberté*, i. 42.

CHAP. XXII.

to which their fathers had aspired. The exclusive territorial basis, upon which social privileges and political power had long been founded, could not much longer be maintained. An advancing society, and growing interests, demanded a wider polity.

Growth of towns, commerce, and navigation.

Since the accession of George III. the face of England had been changed; and was still conspicuously changing. Her destinies, as the first commercial and manufacturing country in the world, were being fulfilled. Since the colonisation of America, in the seventeenth century, and the industrial decay of the Netherlands, England had been making continued advances in navigation, commerce, and manufactures. But the most signal progress was observable from the beginning of the present century. The population had enormously increased; and this increase was chiefly in the cities and towns.[1] Agriculture was encouraged, and the cultivation of the soil was improved and extended: but agricultural industry was far outstripped by trade and manufactures.[2] Land which had once been the principal source of wealth, and the main support of the population, was losing its preponderance as a national interest. Vast towns had arisen, with a marvellous growth. The population of London was equal to that of Scotland. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield and Glasgow, had become like the capitals of considerable States. The woollen and

[1] In 1801 the population of Great Britain was 10,942,354, in 1831 it had increased to 16,539,318. *Population Returns of* 1801 *and* 1831; Porter, *Progress of the Nation*, chap. i.

[2] In 1811, 895,998 families were employed in agriculture in Great Britain, and 129,049 in trade and manufactures; in 1831, 961,134 families were employed in the former, and 1,434,873 in the latter. In 1841, 14,90,785 persons were employed in agriculture, and 3,092,787 in trade and manufactures. Porter, chap. ii.

cotton manufactures, having acquired prodigious powers from the spinning jenny, and the steam engine, were supplying the world with their varied fabrics. Manufactures of iron, and other metals, and of machinery, were advancing with no less vigour. Mining enterprise kept pace with these industries; and the production of coal and iron was facilitated by all the resources of science. The internal communications of the country had been extended by canals, by the improvement of navigable rivers, and by the best roads in Europe; and were about to be multiplied by the wonder-working inventions of railways and locomotive engines. Steam navigation had made the sea a safe highway for the coasting trade, and foreign commerce.

The land in its relations to trade and manufactures.

Arkwright, Watt, and Stephenson had revolutionised the industry of England and the world, and had transformed society. Wealthy merchants, shipowners, and manufacturers were now rivalling the landowners, in riches and social pretensions: thousands of traders were enriched by supplying the wants of an increasing and prosperous population; and skilled artificers were beginning to outnumber the tillers of the soil. Nor were these the only social changes of the period. The constant accumulation of capital had created a considerable body of independent gentry, and a new middle class, attached neither to the land nor to trade, whose claims to a share of political power could not be ignored. Bath, Cheltenham, Leamington, Brighton, Hastings, and the suburbs of London bear witness to their numbers and their wealth. The balance of political power was shaken. The landed proprietors, profiting by the increasing prosperity of the country, were richer than ever; and by the zealous discharge of the

CHAP. XXII.

public and private duties of their station, had sustained their accustomed local influence: but they could no longer claim an undisputed supremacy in the State. These industrial and social changes, remarkable as they were in the reign of George IV., have since continued, with a still more striking development; and this period of social advancement has been signalised by a yet more memorable political progress.

The Church and dissent.

While the relations of the land to the trading classes were undergoing these notable changes, the church was also losing much of her exclusive authority, as the representative of the national faith. Puritanism had been nearly trampled out by the restoration; and early in the eighteenth century, nonconformists had shared the contented slumbers of churchmen. The fierce contentions of former times were succeeded by a period of religious repose. But Wesley and Whitefield had since awakened a new spiritual movement; and dissent had been making alarming progress throughout the land. Wales was almost lost to the church: the teeming populations of the manufacturing towns became the ready disciples of dissenting preachers: where the church had been negligent, dissent was active and zealous; until at length the humble chapels and meeting-houses of various sects of dissenters, were beginning to outnumber the churches of the establishment. The church still enjoyed all her legal rights and securities: but she was no longer the acknowledged church of the people. The union of Presbyterian Scotland and Catholic Ireland, had further affected the position of the English establishment as a State church.

The church and the land had been firm allies;

CHAP. XXII.

The policy of the church and the land threatened.

and the power of both was alike impaired. They had successfully maintained religious disabilities, a narrow and corrupt electoral system, the manifold abuses of close corporations, a criminal code of reckless severity, unequal and oppressive taxes, and injurious restrictions upon trade, and upon the food and labour of the people. The conservative powers of society had now to encounter the restless and aggressive forces of democracy. The country was opposed to the towns; and the church to Catholics and nonconformists. And in the approaching struggle, society was now armed with new weapons for coping with its powerful rulers in Church and State.

Political education.

The political education of the country had kept pace with its material and social progress. No single cause, perhaps, had more contributed to this result than the free publication of debates in Parliament. Measures had been discussed more boldly, by minorities, when they could appeal, from the closely-packed benches of the dominant party, to the judgment of their countrymen. And when the people were admitted to the councils of their rulers, a public opinion was formed, to which all parties were constrained to defer. If the press had done nothing more for public instruction, this single service to the cause of popular government would claim the highest acknowledgment. But the press had rendered other services to the same cause. Notwithstanding the restraints to which it had been subject, despite the severity with which the law had been administered, it had been constantly extending its influence. And as society advanced in knowledge and cultivation, a higher class of minds was attracted to the labours of the periodical press.[1]

[1] The *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* had introduced a statesman-

CHAP. XXII.

Sunday newspapers had also established a position in the periodical press, favourable to the careful and studied investigation of political questions, and qualified for the guidance of thoughtful minds.

Freedom of the press.

From the beginning of the reign of George IV., the press enjoyed so much of the confidence of the people as to ensure its general immunity from rigorous oppression; and its complete freedom was soon to be established. Ten years later were witnessed the last prosecutions of the press by the government; and an unrestrained freedom of political discussion has since been allowed by the State. This general freedom of the press was followed by the repeal of the advertisement duty in 1853, of the newspaper stamp in 1855, and of the paper duty in 1861. These successive measures removed every restraint upon the activity and energies of the press. Henceforth a freedom of opinion, unknown in any other age or country, and unexampled agencies for its expression, brought every class of society within the extended circle of political thought and deliberation. Never since the assembled

1830, 1831.

like spirit into political discussions, in which the opinions of the Whig and Tory parties had been represented. In 1823, the *Westminster Review* was established by Jeremy Bentham, for the advancement of his own opinions, and for promoting the cause of the Radical party, as against the Whigs. It commenced with an assault upon the *Edinburgh Review* and the Whig party, and a scheme of radical policy, written by Mr. James Mill, author of the *History of British India*. This new review continued, for several years, to represent the opinions of the philosophical radicals and advanced Liberal party. Written with force and spirit, and expressing the earnest convictions of the Benthamite and radical schools of thought, at a time when there was a general movement in public opinion, favourable to a more liberal policy in the State, it undoubtedly contributed to strengthen the Liberal cause. See *Autobiography*, by John Stuart Mill, p. 87 *et seq.* This school, however, was never popular in England; and the *Review*, with all its ability, failed to reach an extended circulation. Ibid. p. 129.

citizens of Athens had been consulted, in the agora, upon affairs of State, had a whole people been so freely called into council, as in England, after the complete emancipation of the press. The democracy of small States had raised its voice in streets and market-places: the democracy of the great English monarchy made itself heard through its multitudinous press.[1]

Education.

With this great extension of political freedom and activity in the press, there was a simultaneous advance in the general education of society. It was not in political writings only that the resources of the press were developed. Cheap literature, accessible to the multitude, had been popularised by attractive publications, designed to bring science, literature, and art within the reach and comprehension of all readers. The treasures of the learned were freely shared with mankind. Foremost in this useful work were the teachers of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,—Lord Brougham, Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill, and Mr. Charles Knight; who were successfully followed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and by the Messrs. Chambers. Schools had laid the foundations of instruction: but to the press we owe the general spread of education and enlightenment.

Political associations.

Another agency for the expression of public opinion was found in the increasing development of political associations and public meetings. These powerful instruments of agitation had been exercised since the early years of George III.[2] By these means the popu-

[1] Some good illustrations of the operation of freedom of the press in France, and of restraints upon it, will be found in Jules Simon's *La Liberté*, ii. 347 *et seq.*

[2] See the author's *Constitutional History of England*, chap. ix.

CHAP. XXII.

1763–1770. 1779–1780. 1780.

lar cause of Wilkes had been supported: the movement in favour of economical and parliamentary reform advanced: the fanatical Protestantism of Lord George Gordon and his followers inflamed: the abolition of the slave trade achieved. But the revolutionary crisis, which agitated the latter years of the last century, arrested the progress of such popular movements. Public meetings and associations, which had been permitted in more tranquil times, were now discouraged and repressed. Popular liberties were sacrificed, for a time, for the sake of quelling dangerous disorders, sedition, and treasonable designs.[1] Fresh disorders during the regency caused a revival of this repressive policy; and political agitation, in its various forms, was effectually discountenanced.

Political influence of associations.

But the time was now approaching in which public opinion was to prevail over governments and parliaments; and as the press was acquiring increased power and freedom, so public meetings and political organisations displayed the growing force of popular demonstrations. The association of strong bodies of men in support of a political cause, differs from the action of the press upon public opinion. It is more powerful, and it is more democratic. It is at once an expression of public opinion, and a demonstration of physical force. It attests not only the convictions of numbers, but their earnestness. It allies thought with action. It brings men together for discussion, as in the agora; and the reasoning, the eloquence, and the passions of the speakers thrill multitudes with emotion and stern resolves. Its influence in politics is like that of communions and preaching, in religion. Zeal can only be

[1] See author's *Const. Hist. of England*, chap. vii.

aroused by the contact of man with man. New thoughts are born in the study: but they take hold of nations by association, by discussion, by sympathy, and by the voices of the leaders of men.

Dangers of vast assemblages.

Nor is popular agitation confined to the propagation of opinions. The union of numbers, in a common cause, may threaten force and coercion. Vast assemblages of men may occasion tumults and civil war. Meetings of citizens in the ancient Greek cities, or in the modern Swiss cantons, were free from danger: but prodigious gatherings in the populous cities of Great Britain, may be dangerous to life and property, and menace freedom in the councils of the State. Public discussion may assume the form of intimidation and violence. Numbers, not satisfied with arguments, may resort to force. Here are the elements of democratic revolution, so often developed with fatal force in various countries, and especially in France. Popular wrongs and sufferings, violent leaders, an unpopular government, and a weak executive, have, again and again, been the causes of sudden revolutions. The danger of such revolutions is in relative proportion to the good government of States. Where the government, and the administration of the laws, enjoy the confidence of the people: where the great majority of subjects are prepared to support their rulers: where principles of wisdom, equity, and moderation prevail in the national councils,—there will the dangers of revolution be the least. The history of England, during the last fifty years, presents striking illustrations of these truths. It exhibits the triumph of great causes by political agitation; and it shows how revolutionary

CHAP. XXII.

forces have been held in check by confidence in the government, and respect for the laws.

The Catholic Association. 1823.

Such being the force, and such the dangers of political agitation, we may proceed to follow its instructive history. The penal laws against Catholics had been maintained long after their policy had been renounced by the most enlightened statesmen of the age. Their repeal had been advocated, for several years, in Parliament and in the press: but a powerful majority, faithful to the narrow principles of government, in Church and State, which had descended to them from former times, successfully resisted it. At length, in 1823, an organisation was created for securing Catholic relief, which extended over the whole of Ireland. The Catholic population were taught to demand their rights, as with a single voice. They were represented in Dublin by the association, which assumed the authority of a parliament: contributions were levied in support of the cause in every parish: the press appealed to the passions of the people: the Catholic pulpits resounded with fervent exhortations to the faithful. While the Catholics were thus pressing their claims by a movement little short of national, the Protestants were resisting them by Orange societies and other associations, less numerous indeed, but not less earnest and impassioned. A religious war seemed imminent; and parliament, not being yet prepared to allay the strife, by concessions to the stronger party, resolved in 1828 to protect the public peace, by suppressing these dangerous associations,—as well Protestant as Catholic. But the danger could not be so arrested. The act of the legislature was evaded, and in three years it expired.

CHAP. XXII.

The danger was now more formidable than ever. The public excitement had increased, the associations were more violent, and vast meetings of Catholics were assembled with the discipline, and symbols of a military array. Such meetings were not designed for the expression of opinions, but were threatening demonstrations of physical force. If suffered to continue without a check, they endangered the public peace, and were calculated to overawe the government and the Protestant community. If repressed by military force, there was the hazard of bloody collisions between the troops and vast masses of the people. The position was one of extreme emergency. The government, however, prohibited the meetings, as causing terror to peaceable subjects; and the association, unwilling to brave a collision, and sensible that the government was supported by an overwhelming force of public opinion, submitted to the prohibition. Bloodshed was averted by the firmness of the government, and the discretion of the Catholic leaders: but the cause of Catholic emancipation was pressed with greater energy than ever, and its triumph was at hand.

Catholic meetings. 1828.

In the next session, a Protestant ministry and a Protestant parliament, pledged to resist the Catholic claims, were forced to concede them. Their convictions were unchanged: but they were coerced by a popular agitation which they could no longer venture to resist. The State had been overcome by the irregular forces of democracy. But the cause which had prevailed was just and righteous: it had been too long opposed by narrow statesmanship and religious prejudice. It was supported by eminent English statesmen, and by the liberal judgment of an enlightened party

Catholic emancipation. 1829.

CHAP. XXII.

in parliament and in the country. In these events we see the power of a government, resting upon public opinion, to repress disorder; and the force of popular agitation, in securing the triumph of a just cause without violence.

Agitation for parliamentary reform. 1830-32.

This national agitation was soon followed by another, yet more formidable, in support of parliamentary reform. Democracy had received a strong impulse from the recent revolution in France; and the circumstances of the times encouraged its activity. A popular ministry was at length engaged in passing a measure for the enfranchisement of the people; and was resisted by that party which had long ruled England by means of a narrow representation, and a dependent Parliament. Such were the forces opposed to this measure, that its success was doubtful; and the people came forward, with passionate energy, to support it. The press was violent: political unions were threatening: public meetings of unexampled magnitude were assembled. Riots and disorders disturbed the public peace. Revolution seemed to be impending. But it was averted by the ultimate submission of the Tory party, in the House of Lords, to irresistible pressure. The peers were coerced and humbled; and popular agitation again prevailed. But here it was not the State which was overcome: the ministers of the crown, an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons, and a considerable minority in the upper house itself, had ardently supported the Reform Bill. It was not the cause of demagogues or revolutionary mobs, but the scheme of responsible statesmen, who enjoyed the general confidence of their countrymen. Noblemen and gentlemen of high station had been the leaders of the movement;

and the middle and working classes had laboured together in support of it. The agitation was democratic, and almost revolutionary: but the cause which it advanced was constitutional and statesmanlike. The scheme brought no revolutionary changes, but sought to restore the representation of the people to its theoretical design. But for the protracted resistance of the peers, it might have been discussed, in parliament, without provoking excessive agitation in the country. Again a just and constitutional measure was carried by the aid of the irregular forces of democracy. Yet, however potent these forces, they were but the auxiliaries of a good cause, supported by constitutional means.

Repeal agitation. 1830–31.

While this dangerous excitement was rife in England, an agitation scarcely less formidable had been organised, in Ireland, for the repeal of the union. Mr. O'Connell, lately triumphant as the champion of the Catholic claims, was now threatening to rend asunder the legislative union of England and Ireland. But far different was the cause he had now espoused. It had no leaders but demagogues: it was repudiated by statesmen of all parties: it was condemned by the public opinion of the United Kingdom. The repealers made noisy demonstrations: but the government, resting upon the support of parliament and the country, were able to repress them.

1840–1844.

A few years later, the mischievous agitation was revived. A more extended organisation was established; and 'monster meetings' were assembled which endangered the public peace. But again the government were able to quell the agitation, and to bring its leaders within the reach of the law. The cause was

CHAP. XXII.

bad: it was obnoxious alike to the State and to society, and its failure was signal and complete.

Orange lodges. 1835–1836.

No less easily was the pernicious organisation of the Orange lodges repressed. Founded upon religious hate, and party passions, it endangered the public peace, and affected the administration of justice. It could expect no support from an enlightened public opinion, and it fell before the condemnation of parliament.

Anti-Slavery Society. 1833.

While these agitations in favour of unworthy ends had failed, the anti-slavery association, by peaceful and orderly appeals to the good feelings and reason of their countrymen, had succeeded in their humane and righteous cause, and had given freedom to the slaves of the wide British empire.

The Chartists. 1834–1848.

While the repeal agitation was still rife in Ireland, the Chartist organisation, not unlike it in its character and incidents, had risen to importance in England. It consisted almost entirely of working men, who had adopted as the five points of their 'charter,' universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, payment of members, and the abolition of their property qualification. This scheme of radical reform met with no favour from the higher and middle classes, who were satisfied with the recent settlement of the representation; and was specially repugnant to the employers of labour. But the working men, discontented with their lot in life, and hoping to improve it by remedial laws, were encouraged by the success of other political agitations, to resort to the familiar expedients of an extended association, crowded meetings, and 'monster petitions.' Too often their activity led to riots, which were promptly quelled by the magistracy. Their

numbers were great, and their organisation was maintained for several years: when suddenly the revolution in France, in February 1848, which re-animated democracy throughout Europe, determined the Chartists to attempt a revolutionary movement in favour of their charter.

The 10th April, 1848.

Having complained that their petitions had been neglected, they resolved to march to the House of Commons, in force, and present another petition, said to have been signed by five million persons. For this purpose, a vast meeting was summoned, on the 10th April, at Kennington Common, whence a procession was to march to Westminster. In Paris, such assemblages had often accomplished revolutions. But in London, the 10th April afforded a memorable proof of the strength of the government, and of society, in resisting revolutionary movements condemned by public opinion. The meeting was declared illegal, by proclamation: 170,000 special constables were sworn in to maintain the public peace: Westminster Bridge and the approaches to the Houses of Parliament were guarded, as for a siege, by artillery and soldiers, carefully concealed from view. The meeting proved a failure: the procession over Westminster Bridge was interdicted; and the dispirited crowds dispersed to their homes without disturbance.

Weakness of the Chartist cause.

The scheme of the Chartists had been ill-planned: their leaders were little in earnest, and they were incapable and cowardly: but even with better leaders, their failure would have been assured. They stood alone,—without the sympathy of other classes, without the countenance of any parliamentary or national party, and without a cause which appealed to the

CHAP. XXII.

general sentiments of the people. They were strong in numbers, but they were opposed by the united force of the State and of society; and they were powerless. They might have caused disorders and riot, but they could not have achieved a political triumph.

Anti-Corn Law League. 1838–1846.

Meanwhile, another agitation, differing widely from that of the Chartists, and followed by other results, had been brought to a successful conclusion. The Anti-Corn Law League affords the example of an agitation in which the cause itself was good, the object national, and the triumph complete. Here the employers of labour, and the working classes, were combined in support of interests common to them both: the leaders of the movement, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, were able and popular speakers, capable alike of enforcing the truths of political science, and arousing the passions of the people; and their principles had long been maintained by many eminent men, and a considerable party in parliament—foremost among whom was its able and consistent advocate, Mr. Charles Villiers. But the interests opposed to them seemed overwhelming. Protection had been, for ages, the settled principle of English commercial policy. The landowners and farmers looked upon restricted imports of corn as essential to British agriculture: the manufacturers were not, at first, alive to the importance of free trade; and the cause was resisted by overpowering majorities in parliament. But the agitation was pursued with rare energy and persistence: it was favoured by concurrent political and social conditions —more particularly by the Irish famine—and in less than eight years, it had converted public opinion, rival statesmen, and parliament itself, to the doctrines of free

trade. Its victory was not achieved without bitterness: the landlords and farmers, and the statesmen ranged on their side, were assailed with fierce denunciations: the working classes were aroused to a deep sense of wrong: but, although the interests and passions of the multitude were engaged in the strife, it was not discredited by any acts of violence or intimidation.

Its moral.

This agitation, if an illustration of the force of democracy, is also an example of the power of reason, in a free State. The country and its rulers were convinced by argument, and swayed by popular demonstrations: but the good cause was won by rational conviction, and not by the overruling force of democracy.

Meetings in Hyde Park. 1866-67.

Many years now passed without any conspicuous popular movement. At length, in 1866, the revival of parliamentary reform, in the legislature, aroused some popular excitement. The Reform League announced a public meeting in Hyde Park, on the 23rd July. It was prohibited by the government: but inadequate precautions for enforcing this prohibition led to the memorable destruction of the railings, and the triumphant occupation of the park by the mob. In the following year, another meeting in Hyde Park was prohibited, but was held in defiance of the government. On both occasions, democracy prevailed over the government: but the legality of prohibiting meetings in the park was at least doubtful: and the weakness and irresolution with which the popular movement was encountered by the executive, were mainly responsible for the contempt shown by the populace to the authority of the State.

May 6, 1867.

CHAP. XXII.

Meetings in Hyde Park have since been subjected to regulation, but not to prohibition; and have become public nuisances, rather than popular demonstrations. If they sometimes molest society, and threaten disorder, they have wholly failed to influence public opinion, or to affect the resolutions of the legislature. They are examples of democracy in its least attractive forms, exhibiting the sores of society, and not its healthful action.

The Match Tax. 1871.

Another small agitation scarcely deserves notice, except that it was the last, and achieved a sudden success. In 1871, the Chancellor of the Exchequer having proposed, as part of his budget for the year, a tax upon lucifer-matches, the principal manufacturers of those articles suddenly threw their workpeople out of employment, who crowded down to Westminster, by the streets, and by the Thames Embankment, to protest against the obnoxious proposal. It was a trivial tax upon a single industry, and found scant favour with the House of Commons, or with the public: the poor match-makers met with general sympathy; and the abortive scheme was promptly abandoned. The popular demonstration quickened the determination of ministers: but the new tax had been at once condemned by public opinion; and the successful remonstrances of the threatened interest can scarcely be cited as among the triumphs of democracy.

Moral of political agitation.

From these examples of political agitation, we are able to draw some conclusions concerning democracy, as it affects our laws and institutions. The public peace has often been threatened by popular demonstrations; and vast gatherings of men, in populous places, must always be attended with danger. The government and parliament have sometimes been over-

borne by powerful combinations, using the manifold arts of modern agitation. The passions of society have been aroused to the very verge of rebellion. The evils incident to great popular excitement are unquestionable: but cases have been rare in which tumults and disorders have arisen out of the agitation of political questions. The law has been strong enough to restrain and to punish them. None of the great agitations in our history have proved successful unless founded upon a good cause, and supported by a parliamentary party, and by a large measure of public opinion. Good laws have thus been forced upon the acceptance of the legislature: but bad causes, however clamorously urged, have failed before the firm resistance of the government and of society.

Minor agitations.

Of smaller agitations little need be said: but they have become so numerous as gravely to affect the relative strength of parties, and the legislation of the country. Associations for disestablishing the church, for legalising marriages with a deceased wife's sister, for securing women's rights, for the protection of publicans, for a permissive prohibitory liquor law, for the repeal of the contagious diseases acts, and for other objects, have made their special causes superior to the great political principles which concern the general government of the State. The merits of their respective causes may be judged by the ultimate results of their agitations. Where they are good, and commend themselves to the enlightened judgment of the country, they may be expected to prevail: where they are founded upon error or prejudice, and are coldly received, or condemned by society, they will encounter discouragement and failure.

CHAP. XXII.

Trades unions.

Another form of association demands a special notice. The unsettled relations between capital and labour have been among the causes of successive tumults and revolutions in France ;[1] and in England they have been the cause of serious mischief to the trade and industry of the country ; but hitherto they have had comparatively little influence in political controversies. In France, and other European States, associations of workmen have generally aimed at an improvement of their condition by radical changes in the institutions of the State : while in England such associations have striven to increase wages, to diminish the hours of labour, and to attain a larger share of the profits of their employers, by strikes and trade regulations. The International Society was of foreign origin ; and its revolutionary doctrines[2] were coldly received by the working men of England.[3]

Processions and meetings

The trade associations of this country have rarely concerned themselves in political affairs. In 1834,

[1] See *supra*, pp. 250, 269, 282, 290, 321.

[2] 'Social order is menaced in its deepest foundations by the *International*, which flies in the face of all the traditions of mankind, which effaces God from the mind ; family inheritance from life ; nations from the civilised world, aspiring solely to the well-being of the workmen on the basis of universal community . . . which begins by declaring itself the enemy of every political school, and incompatible with all existing forms of government.'—Circular despatch of Señor de Blas to Spanish representatives in foreign States, Feb. 9, 1872. See also *supra*, Introduction.

[3] 'This society, although set on foot as a centre of communication between workmen and trades unions in different parts of the world, confines its operations, in this country, chiefly to advice in questions of strikes, and has but very little money at its disposal for their support : whilst the revolutionary designs which form part of the society's programme are believed to express the opinions of the foreign members rather than those of the British workmen, whose attention is turned chiefly to questions affecting wages.'—Earl Granville to Mr. Layard, 8th March, 1872.

of trades unions.

a procession of trades unions vainly endeavoured to obtain the remission of a sentence of transportation upon the Dorchester labourers,[1] whom they regarded as martyrs to their cause. Again, in December 1866, a procession of trades unions, amounting to between 20,000 and 25,000 men, under the auspices of the Reform League, marched with banners and emblems through the streets of London, to a meeting at Beaufort House, Kensington.[2] In itself it was of little significance: but it is an example of the use of trades unions for political agitation. A later example is to be found in the Trades Congress at Sheffield in 1873, when general questions of legislation and fiscal policy, affecting the interests of the working classes, was discussed, in a spirit antagonistic to the rights of property and capital. Any association with the objects of the International Society was disclaimed: but political questions were not the less freely treated.

Their organisation.

And, of late years, trades unions have successfully laboured to obtain amendments of the law affecting masters and workmen. Their own interests, as unionists, and as working men, were concerned; and, like other classes of society, they used their organisation for political ends.[3] Such unions, however, are not without

[1] Author's *Const. Hist.* ii. 405.

[2] *Ann. Reg.* 1866; *Chron.* p. 188; *Times*, 4th Dec. 1866; Personal observation.

[3] Mr. Burt, one of the two working men's candidates returned to the parliament of 1874, wrote in March of that year: 'The unions, except in the north of England, where they have hampered themselves by no unwise restrictions, really wield little political power. Some of the oldest and largest of them wholly ignore politics. Their rules will not allow them to mention the subject in their meetings. They can take no united and vigorous political action.' And he proceeds to exhort them

CHAP. XXII.

their dangers. Their numbers present an overwhelming display of physical force: their organisation and discipline are effective. In times of political excitement they not only endanger the public peace, but may intimidate and coerce the government and the legislature. Wild theories concerning government, the rights of property, and the relations of capital and labour, have been spread amongst them; and might be espoused with dangerous unanimity. How are such dangers to be met? Not by panic: not by distrust; not by irritating repression: but by continued efforts, on the part of the State, to do equal justice to all classes of the people, to secure the support of public opinion, while it is prepared to resist, with overwhelming force, any attempts to intimidate the legislature. Such are the lessons which our history teaches. There may be riots and disorders: no State can hope to be wholly free from them: but the working classes, notwithstanding their preponderance in numbers and physical force, will not prevail, unless they have a cause founded upon justice, leaders of higher station than their own, and a parliamentary party to represent them in a constitutional manner. Revolutionary violence may overcome a State, whether it be an absolute monarchy or a republic: but the best security against such an event is to be found in the mutual confidence of the government and the general body of the people.

Changes in the representation.

While expression has been given to public opinion by the press, and by popular agitation, constitutional changes have rendered the legislature more represen-

to acquire political knowledge, and exert their united influence for the political emancipation of the working classes.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, 27th March, 1874.

tative of the general sentiments of the people, and responsive to their wants and interests. The Reform Acts of 1832 diminished the preponderating influence of the territorial nobles and landowners; and invested the middle classes with a large share of political power. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1868, by the adoption of household suffrage as the basis of representation, admitted considerable numbers of the working classes to the same political privileges as their employers. And, lastly, the Ballot Act of 1872, by introducing secret voting, struck at the influence of patrons and employers over the independence of electors.

Increase of popular influence.

These successive changes, having been made with a view to increase popular influences in the government of the State, have been advances towards democracy. And since 1832, the legislature has borne the marks of strong popular inspiration. Powerful interests and privileges have been overthrown: the welfare of the many has been preferred to the advantage of the few. But can it be affirmed that the traditional bounds of English liberty have been transgressed? Can it be said that democracy has usurped the place of settled constitutional government? Many public abuses have been corrected: many remedial laws have given wealth and contentment to the people: many constitutional changes have been accomplished: the wrongs, the errors, the abuses and neglect of centuries were corrected, in the lifetime of many Englishmen who have themselves witnessed the transition from the old to the new polity. Religious liberty was granted to Dissenters, to Catholics, and to Jews. The notorious and indefensible abuses of the representation, which had defrauded the people of their rights, were cor-

CHAP. XXII.

rected. Municipal institutions were restored to their ideal of popular self-government. The revenues of the church were reviewed, tithes were commuted, and church rates abolished. The shackles were struck off from the negro-slave: the poor-laws were amended: the severity of the criminal code was mitigated; and a national system of education was established. The taxation of the country was revised, upon equitable and enlightened principles. Restraints upon the importation of food, and upon trade and industry, were removed. Free trade was inaugurated. Earnest endeavours were made to improve the condition, and appease the discontents, of Ireland. The Protestant Church of Catholic Ireland was disestablished: the rights of landlords over their tenants were regulated. The widespread colonies of the British Empire, entrusted with the privileges of responsible government, were allowed to flourish as democratic republics, under the gentle sovereignty of the parent State. Such has been the liberal and progressive policy of England during the last fifty years. But moderation and equity have distinguished all the measures of the legislature. Private rights and property have been respected: the recognised principles of a constitutional State have been maintained.

Continuity of reforms.

The salutary reforms of this active period averted revolution. Founded, not upon theoretical principles or vague aspirations, but upon the rational experience and acknowledged necessities of the country, they restored, instead of subverting, the wholesome conditions of an ancient state, and a highly organised society. English reformers, however bold and adventurous, never broke with the past: it was ever their mission to improve and regenerate, rather than to

destroy.[1] In the familiar words of our renowned poet laureate, England has been:

> A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown:
> Where freedom broadens slowly down,
> From precedent to precedent.

Democratic opinions.

It cannot be denied that democratic opinions have gained ground among considerable numbers of the people: but as yet they have found no representation in the legislature. If democracy had been making decided advances, in public opinion, we should have seen parliaments growing more and more democratic, after each appeal to the country. But, so far from presenting evidence of such results, some remarkable illustrations of a different tendency may be mentioned. In little more than two years after the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, which had been opposed by the Tory party, as revolutionary, that party had nearly recovered their strength. Again overpowered by the Liberal party, in 1835, they were restored to power in 1841, supported by a powerful majority of the representatives of the people. Three times again were that party entrusted with the government of the State, within a period of fifteen years;[2] and, lastly, in 1874,—when democracy was said to have received a great impulse from household suffrage and vote by ballot,—the triumph of the same party over the party of pro-

[1] 'Pauvres Français, si pauvres, et qui vivent campés! Nous sommes d'hier, et ruinés de père en fils par Louis XIV., par Louis XV., par la Révolution, par l'Empire. Nous avons démoli, il a fallu tout refaire à nouveau. Ici, la génération suivante ne rompt pas avec la précédente: les reformes se superposent aux institutions, et le présent, appuyé sur le passé, le continue.'—Taine, *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, chap. iv.

[2] Viz. 1852, 1858 and 1866.

CHAP. XXII.

gress was not less signal than in 1841,—before those democratic measures had yet increased the popular power.

Democratic aspects of the English Government.

In some of its aspects, the government of England is one of the rarest ideals of a democracy, in the history of the world. It is directed by the intelligent judgment of the whole people. In Athens, the citizens met in the Ecclesia, discussed affairs of State, and voted with impulsive acclamations: but they only swayed the destinies of a single brilliant city. The people of the great State of England cannot, indeed, meet together in a market-place: but they choose their representatives in the national councils, they assemble freely in public meetings, they have the right of petition, they enjoy a perfectly free press, they manage all their local affairs, and in place of ruling a city, they govern an empire.

Liberty rather than democracy advanced.

But, on the other hand, the State enjoys all the securities of an ancient monarchy, of old-established institutions, and of a powerful and well-organised society. All orders, classes, and interests have found adequate representation; and the State has been governed by public opinion, and not by the dominating force of numbers. Rank, property, high attainments and commercial opulence, have maintained their natural influence in society, and in the State.

Loyalty.

Loyalty to the crown, and respect for the law, have contributed, not less than free institutions, to the steady course of English political history. Loyalty has generally been regarded as a sentiment of the olden time, which is declining in an utilitarian age. Yet the period in which devotion to the king's person is assumed to have been the greatest, was marked by

rival pretensions to the crown, by bloody civil wars and insurrections. The Wars of the Roses, the convulsions of the Reformation, the Catholic insurrections and plots against Elizabeth and James I., the civil war of Charles I., the revolution of 1688, the Jacobite rebellions of George I. and George II., are blots upon the ideal loyalty of former ages. If kings held a more conspicuous place in the eyes of their people, they were yet identified with hostile parties in the State, with religious persecutions, with judicial murders, and with cruel severities against great numbers of their subjects. The loyalty and devotion of their own followers may have been great: but the allegiance of the country was divided by the bitterest feuds. If they were beloved by many, by many were they feared and hated.

Effect of freedom upon loyalty.

But constitutional government, while it has, in a great measure, withdrawn the monarch from that personal exercise of power, which appeals to the imagination of men, has relieved him from party conflicts, from responsibility for unpopular measures, and from the rigours of the executive government. If he is not associated with devotion to a cause or a party, neither is he pursued with the hatred of religious sects or political factions. The rancour of his subjects is exhausted upon one another: he is himself above and beyond it: none can reach him, upon his throne. He holds an even balance between rival statesmen and parties: he espouses no cause or policy. Ministers are responsible for the exercise of his prerogatives; and take upon themselves the unpopularity of every act of the executive. At the same time, all honours and acts of grace proceed directly from the crown itself.

CHAP. XXII.

Loyalty and patriotism.

All these circumstances concur in associating loyalty with patriotism, and a respect for law and order, of which the crown is at once the symbol and the guarantee. Such sentiments are more constant and enduring than loyalty itself; and they are the special characteristics of Englishmen. They sustain the spirit of loyalty, even when personal devotion to the sovereign is weakened by exceptional causes. After the overthrow of the Stuarts, several sovereigns failed to conciliate the affections and sympathies of their subjects. William III., notwithstanding his great services to the State, was unpopular. He was a foreigner, and his manners were cold and ungenial. The reign of Queen Anne was illumined with glory: but though her amiability won her the title of 'Good Queen Anne,' she had none of the qualities which arouse devotion. The two first Georges were foreigners, and took little pains to acquire popularity with their alien subjects; while the loyalty of the country was undermined by Jacobite intrigues.

Loyalty to George III.

But with George III. the traditional loyalty of the English people was revived. He was an Englishman, a plain country gentleman, of simple tastes and habits, pious and domestic, and fairly representing the character of the Englishmen of his time. He took too active and personal a part in politics, to escape occasional unpopularity: but he generally possessed, throughout his long and chequered reign, the affections of his people. The

George IV.

character of George IV. was not such as to command respect; and at the very commencement of his reign, he braved unpopularity by his proceedings against Queen Caroline. Yet was he greeted with remarkable demonstrations of loyalty; and his admiring people

delighted to honour 'the first gentleman in Europe.' The name of William IV. being associated with the great measure of Parliamentary reform, he became the most popular of kings: but politics are an unstable foundation of public attachment; and before the close of his reign, his popularity had sensibly declined.

William IV.

With the reign of Queen Victoria, the chivalrous loyalty of Englishmen was revived. A fair young Queen, endowed with every virtue, and graced with every accomplishment, won the ready affections of her people. None of her ancestors had aroused a loyalty so genuine and universal. Holding herself above political parties, and faithfully observing the obligations of a constitutional sovereign, her popularity has never been impaired by the errors of statesmen, or the jealousy of factions. Never did sovereign more truly deserve, or more abundantly enjoy, the loyalty of a nation. Restrained by a great affliction, and afterwards by ill health, from some of the more public functions of sovereignty, it was feared by many that her popularity had declined: but such fears were promptly dispelled, whenever the people found an occasion for displaying their feelings.

Reign of Queen Victoria.

No more touching example of loyal and affectionate devotion to the Queen and the royal family can be conceived, than the episode of the illness and recovery of the Prince of Wales, in the winter of 1871. While he was in danger, the anxiety of all classes was that of friends and relations: crowds pressed forward to read the bulletins: the thoughts of all men were fixed upon the sufferer at Sandringham. When his happy recovery was celebrated by the thanksgiving at St. Paul's Cathedral, not even George III. on a similar

Illness and recovery of the Prince of Wales. 1871.

CHAP. XXII.

occasion, received demonstrations of attachment so earnest and universal. No man who witnessed the events of that memorable day,—the solemn service in the metropolitan church,—the vast crowds that greeted the royal procession, with earnest sympathy, for many miles, through the streets of London, and the rejoicings of a whole people, will venture to doubt the loyalty of Her Majesty's subjects. Nor have such manifestations of hearty loyalty been confined to the capital. Whenever Her Majesty, the Prince of Wales, or other members of the Royal Family, have visited great industrial or manufacturing cities, which are supposed to be leavened with a republican spirit, they have been received with enthusiastic devotion

No professions of republicanism.

All evidence, therefore, contradicts the assertion that loyalty has declined in England. The personal sentiment is sustained, with all its touching interests and affections; and it is associated with a sober reverence for the laws and institutions of the country.[1] It is well known that republican speculations have occasionally been ventured upon: but they have not found favour with any considerable class of society: they have not been addressed to a single constituency: they have not been even whispered in Parliament; and they are repelled by the general sentiment of the country.

Conservative elements of society.

While loyalty to the crown has survived all the advances of democracy, the church has awakened from a long period of inaction, and by her zeal and good works, has recovered much of her former influence; while the continual increase of wealth has strengthened

[1] 'Reverence for the past, confidence in the present, faith in the future, that is the sum of English statesmanship.'—Speech of Sir William Vernon Harcourt at Oxford, 8th Sept., 1873.

the conservative elements of society. The nobility, augmented in numbers, still enjoy an influence little less than feudal, in their several counties. The country gentlemen, united with them in interests and sympathies, have become far richer and more powerful than in the time of George III.: while they have advanced, still more conspicuously, in culture and accomplishments. Trained in the public schools and universities, the army, and the Inns of Court, they are qualified, as well for their high social position, as for the magistracy and public affairs. Commercial wealth has been lavished upon the land; and merchants and manufacturers have recruited the ranks of a class, to whom they were once opposed. The goodly array of independent gentry, multiplied by the increasing wealth of the country, and by public employments, have generally cast in their lot with the proprietors of the soil. The professional classes, enlarged in numbers, in variety of pursuits, and in social influence, have generally associated themselves with the property of the country, with which their fortunes are identified. The employers of labour, anxiously concerned in the safety of their property and interests, and irritated by the disputes of their workmen, have looked coldly upon democratic movements. Great numbers of persons in the employment of public companies and commercial firms, may be included in the ranks which give stability to English society. It may be added that many of the higher grades of operatives invest their savings, and are bound up with the interests of their employers; and that a considerable number of the working classes gain their livelihood from the expenditure of the rich.

CHAP. XXII.

Sound conditions of society.

A society so strong, so varied, and so composite, assures the stability of our institutions, and the equitable policy of our laws. In France, the disorganisation of society has been the main cause of revolutions: in England, its sound condition has been the foundation of political progress and constitutional safety.

INDEX.

AAR

AARAU, Peace of [*Swiss Confederation*]

Absolutism, evils of, ii. 98; of the French Republic, 183

Achaian League, the, its services to Greece, i. 129; one of the earliest examples of a federal State, 129; compared with democracy of Athens, 129, 130

Act of Mediation [*Swiss Confederation*]

Advertisement duty repealed, ii. 456.

Affre, Monseigneur, archbishop of Paris, killed on the barricades, ii. 290

Agitation, political, in England, 457–468; the moral of, ii. 468

Agora, the, its beneficial influences, i. 45

Agrarian law, of Spurius Cassius, i. 144; of Licinius, 171; continually demanded in Rome, 172; of Tiberius Gracchus, 175, 176

Agricultural communities, conservative, but with elements favourable to freedom, Introd. xxxvi. xxxvii.; different classes of cultivators, xxxvii.; the Métayer system, xxxvii.; general character of, xxxix.; in Greece, i. 57; in Rome, 150, 156, 171; in the dark ages, 221; in Italy, 275; in Switzerland, 337, 339–341, 356; in the Netherlands, ii. 2; in France, 88, 102–108; in England, 335, 358, 446, 480

Albigenses, the, i. 266; ii. 88

Albizzi, the [*Florence*]

Alfred the Great, arrests the progress of the Danes in England, ii. 343

ARA

Alkmaar, the siege of, ii. 45

Alps, the, scenery of, and its influence on man, i. 334

Alva, the Duke of [*Netherlands, the*]

American War of Independence, the, a prelude to revolution in Europe, ii. 130; alliance of France with the colonists, 130; stimulates the popular movement in England, 449; and in France, 449

Amiens, peace of, ii. 211

Amphictyonic Council, the, i. 49

Amsterdam, attempts of William II. of Orange to seize, ii. 73

Anabaptists, the, i. 270; in England, their ideal, ii. 421

Anglo-Saxons, the [*England*]

Anjou, the Duc d', sovereign of the United Provinces, except Holland and Zealand, ii. 55; his match with Queen Elizabeth broken off, 56; takes the oath to observe the charters and constitutions, 56; his treason, 56, 57; his departure and death, 57

Anti-Corn-Law League, the, its action and triumph, ii. 466; moral of the agitation, 467

Antinomians, the, ii. 422

Anti-Slavery Society, the, its success, ii. 464

Antwerp, burnt, and its citizens massacred by the Spaniards, ii. 49; raid of Anjou on, 57; capitulates to Prince of Parma, 59

Arabs, the [*Saracens*]

Aragon, liberties of the Cortes, ii. 26; insurrection in, 27

AQU

Aquinas, St. Thomas, his political views, Introd. xxiii. n.

Archons, government of, at Athens, i. 67; office thrown open by Aristides, 74; election by lot, 74; deprived of judicial functions, 75

Areopagus, the, its powers, i. 74; obnoxious to the democratic party, 74; stripped of its powers, 75

Aristocracy, one of the first forms of government, Introd. xxvi.; its influence surviving its exclusive power, xxviii.; the natural constitution of a pastoral State, xxxvi.; aptitude of, for government, liv.; conflicts with the people, lv.; conflict of, with democracy, i. 56 and n.; united with monarchy and popular institutions at Sparta, 63 and n.; the Roman patricians, 136, 137, 143, 144; fusion of old and new, at Rome, 152, 153; political reaction of Roman, 165; ascendency of, after fall of the Gracchi, 181; the *novi homines*, 191; relations of, with the Church of Rome, 239; the feudal, 242; of Venice, 291, *sqq.*; conflict of, with democracy at Genoa, 295; at Florence, 304, *sqq.*; growth of a new, at Florence, 309; the commercial, 312, 313; of Berne, 351; of Fribourg, 352; of France, ii. 99; in England, 345, 347, 358; power of, after the Revolution, 443

Armies, standing, the formation of, a check to the development of democracy, Introd. lviii.; injurious effects of, lix.; consequences of, in Rome, i. 166; danger of, under Marius, 182; organised under the empire, 208; governed Rome, 218; approach to establishment of, by Swiss Confederation, 359; raised by Charles the Bold, ii. 22

Arnold of Brescia [*Rome*]

Artevelde, James van, becomes leader of the Flemings, ii. 16; sovereign of Flanders, his exploits, 16; his death, 17

— Philip van, his exploits and death, ii. 17

Arundel, Earl of, committed to the Tower, ii. 375

Aryans, their original seat and migrations, i. 39; their civilisation attested by their language, 40; contributed to European liberty, 40, n.

ATH

Associations [*Political Associations*]

Athens, contrasted with Sparta, i. 66; the intellectual centre of Greece, 67; an oligarchy, government by Archons, 67; constitution of Solon, 68; council of Four Hundred, 69; Ecclesia, 69; encouragement of commerce, 69; suspension of freedom under Peisistratus and his sons, 70; constitution of Cleisthenes, 70; division into ten tribes, 70; Senate of Five Hundred, 71; the Ecclesia, 71; ostracism, 72; changes in constitution of Cleisthenes, 74; reforms of Pericles; the Areopagus, 74; the dicasteries, 75; scrutiny of magistrates, 77; restraints upon the democracy, 78; increased power of the Ecclesia, 78; the Council of Five Hundred, 79; introduction of payment for public services, 80, 81, 82; popular amusements provided at expense of the State, 83; distribution of profits of mines of Laurium among the citizens, 83, n.; public works promoted by Pericles, 83; the Theoricon, 84; example of a pure democracy, 86; ambassadors received by the assembly, 87; her democratic influence, 88; overthrow of the democracy by Peisander, 88; overthrow of the oligarchs, 89; a polity established, 90; democracy restored, 90; humiliation and surrender of the city to Lysander, 90; rule of the Thirty Tyrants, 91; proscription, 91; rescued by Thrasybulus, 92; the democracy restored, 92; decline of her ascendency, 92; her orators and philosophers, 93; Macedonian conquest, fall of the democracy, 93

— Her greatness under the democracy, 94; coincidence of enlightenment and freedom, 94; her warlike spirit, 95; her great victories, 96; employment of mercenary troops, 96; its bad effects, 97; her political activity, 97; her leaders, 99; influence of birth, 99, 100; disparagement of the 'demagogues,' 100; good and bad demagogues, 101; study of oratory, 102; the sophists, 102; freedom of speech, the natural

growth of Athenian life, 104; attempt to restrict it, 104, n.; licence of the stage, 105; Socrates an example of Athenian toleration, and of its breach, 105; the drama, music, 106; means of culture, 107 and n.; smallness of Athens as a State, 108; rudeness of its form of government, 109; need of representation, 110; the Greek religion, 111; slavery, 114; selfishness of Athenian policy, 115; Athenian franchise, 116; lowering of the franchise, 117; lowering of the character of the democracy, 118; its power increased, 118; burthens upon the rich, and upon the poor, 119; patriotism undermined by payments for attendance, 119, 120; paid advocates, 121; popular judicature, 122; the Sycophants, 122; public amusements at cost of the State, 123; the system completed by Eubulus, 124; misappropriation of money, 126; corruption of generals and envoys, 126; efforts of Demosthenes to reform abuses, 127; poor laws, 127; public life in, compared with Rome, 162; Athenian democracy compared with Roman, 210; their judicatures compared, 211; compared with Florence, 298

Athens, the Duke of [*Florence*]

Augsburg, Diet of, allows rulers to determine the faith of their subjects, ii. 34, n.

Augustus [*Octavius*]

Austria, the German Emperor signs Declaration of Pilnitz, ii. 154; joins with Prussia in declaration of war against France, 161; Francis II. renounces title of Emperor of Germany, 217; insurrections in Italy against her rule (1848), 274; disturbances at Vienna, abdication of the Emperor, 275; new constitution, 275, 276

BAILLY, Mayor of Paris, ii. 148; resigns, 156; executed, 186

Ball, John, his bold social doctrines, ii. 351

Ballot, the, used in Rome, i. 174; adopted in England, 1872, ii. 473

Barbès, his insurrection, ii. 256; its object, 257; resisted by Lamartine, 286; member of provisional government, arrested, 289

Barebone's Parliament [*England*]

Barneveldt, Jan van Olden, supports Prince Maurice, ii. 62; his peace policy, 68; his illegal arrest and execution, 72

Barras, ii. 199, 205

Barrot, Odilon, his opposition to repressive measures of Louis Philippe, ii. 254; leads agitation for reform, 258, 266; minister with M. Thiers, 269; first minister, 270; his ministry dismissed by Louis Napoleon, 294; invited to form a ministry, 297

Basle, a municipal republic, i. 342; its mixed constitution, 353, 354; peasant war, 371; revolution at, 379; the bishopric annexed to France, 379; domination of the town over the country, 387

Bavaria, abdication of King Ludwig, ii. 277

Belgium, Celtic settlers in, ii. 3; occupied by the Franks, 4; insurrection in, 81; made a separate kingdom under Leopold I., 82; ascendency of Ultramontanism, 82; progress of, 1830 to 1848, 272; remains at peace in 1848, 278 [*Netherlands*, and *Netherlands, kingdom of the*]

Berlin, insurrection at, 1848, ii. 277

Bernadotte, elected King of Sweden, ii. 217

Berne, a municipal republic, i. 342; privileges of its burghers, 342; forms alliance with Fribourg, Bienne, and Neufchâtel, 343; its aristocratic constitution, 351, 352; corruption of the rulers, 365 and n.; peasant war in, 371; becomes an oligarchy, 373; intervenes against the burghers of Geneva, 375; again, with Zürich, France, and Savoy, occupies the town, and suppresses its liberties, 376; heavy contributions levied by the French, 383; oligarchic rule restored, 387; revolution of 1830, 388; conciliation of parties, 395

BER

Berri, the Duc de, assassination of, ii. 232

Bianchi and Neri, the, at Florence, i. 307

Bible, the English, its influence on English society, ii. 363

Billaud-Varennes, ii. 182 n., 194, 195

Bishops, in England, nominated by the king, ii. 355; proposal of the Commons to deprive them of their seats in the House of Lords, 394; the bill passed, 397; reinstated at the Restoration, 436

Blanc, Louis, Socialist leader, ii. 283; attempts to organise national workshops, 284 and n.; resisted by Lamartine, 286; takes part in invasion of the Hôtel de Ville, 287; in storming of the Assembly, 289; member of provisional government, arrested, 289

Blanqui, takes part in the insurrection of Barbès, ii. 256; leader of the Red Republicans in invasion of the Hôtel de Ville, 287; member of provisional government, arrested, 289

Bohemia, provisional government proclaimed at Prague, ii. 275

Boissy d'Anglas, his firmness as president of the Convention, ii. 196

Bologna, the head of the confederation of cities south of the Po, i. 300; joins the Lombard League, 301; staunch to the Guelphic party, 303

Bonaparte, Jerome, made King of Westphalia, ii. 217

—, Joseph, made King of the Two Sicilies, ii. 217; king of Spain, 217

—, Louis, made King of Holland, and deposed, ii. 217

—, Napoleon [*Napoleon Bonaparte*]

Bordeaux, under the Reign of Terror, ii. 185; meeting of National Assembly at, 320

Borromean League, the, alliance of seven Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, i. 366

Bourbons, the, fruitless attempts at fusion of the two houses, ii. 331

Bourgeoisie, the, the middle class in France, ii. 112, 113

CAL

Brahmans, the, interpreters and administrators of the law, i. 4; pride of caste, 5

Bright, Mr., one of the leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League, ii. 466

Bruges, the central mart of the Hanseatic League, ii. 6; its insurance chamber, 7; expels the French garrison, 15; victory over the French at Courtrai, 15; joins in war against Count of Flanders, 15; resists Philip the Good, 21; seizure and imprisonment of Archduke Maximilian by the townsmen, 24; they extort a treaty from him, 24; unsuccessfully attacked by Duke of Anjou, 57

Brussels, capitulates to Prince of Parma, ii. 59; capital of the new kingdom of the Netherlands, 81

Buckingham, Duke of, proceedings against him threatened, ii. 375; the parliament dissolved to avert them, 375; impeachment voted, again saved by a dissolution, 375

Buddhism, freedom unknown to, i. 3

Bugeaud, Marshal, commander of Paris, ii. 269

Bureaucracy, growth of, at Rome, i. 208

Burgundy, House of, acquires sovereignty of the Netherlands, ii. 21

Bussolari, Jacob dei, his enterprise at Pavia, i. 317

CADIZ, capture and sack of, by Dutch and English fleets, ii. 63

Cæsar, C. Julius, one of the leaders of the Roman democracy, i. 194; bids for popularity, 195; Pontifex Maximus, 196; alliance with Pompey, 197; his popular measures, 198; military commands, 198; victories, 199; triumvir, 200; rivalry with Pompey, 201; crosses the Rubicon, 202; master of Rome, 202; his powers and policy, 203; his constitutional and remedial laws, 204; slain, 205; the assassins justified by Montesquieu, 205, n.; routs the Helvetii, 336

Calendar, reformation of the, ii. 187

Calonne, ii. 130; his measures, 132; his fall, 133

CAL

Calvin, John, his scheme of church government, i. 271; his influence in reformation of Switzerland, 366; his rule in Geneva, 368; moral influence of his religious discipline, 368; his doctrines and polity embraced by many in England, ii. 362

Calvinists, the supporters of political liberties, Introd. lxii. [*Puritans*]

Capital punishment, for political offences abolished in France, ii. 281

Capitalists, a class of, created at Rome, i. 167; in France, become a power in the State, ii. 111

Capponi, Florentine statesman, i. 325

Carrier, at Nantes, ii. 185, 194

Carthage, its republican constitution, i. 30; democratic elements, 31; growth of an oligarchy, 31; analogy with constitution of Venice, 31; the Punic wars, 157; invasion of Italy by Hannibal, 157; colony at, founded by Cæsar, 205

Caste, in India, i. 5; in Persia, 14; in Egypt, 26

Castile, liberties of, the Cortes, ii. 26; the king deposed, 26; remonstrance of the holy *junta* rejected by Charles V., 27; insurrection under Padilla, suppressed, and Padilla put to death, 27

Catalonia, the king deposed by the people, ii. 26

Cathelineau, Vendean leader, ii. 182

Catholic Association, the, formed, ii. 460; Act for suppression of, passed, 460; meetings prohibited, 461

Catholic Emancipation, conceded, ii. 461

Catholics [*Church of Rome*]

Catiline, L. Sergius, his conspiracy, i. 196

Cato, the censor, i. 169

Cato, M. Porcius, leader of senatorial party, i. 196; his tactics, 198, n.

Cavaignac, General, appointed Dictator, suppresses Socialist insurrection at Paris, ii. 290; his measures, 291; candidate for the Presidency, 291

CHA

Celts, the, their early condition, Introd. xlv.; state of countries peopled by, xlv.; settlers in Belgium, ii. 3; in England, 337

Censorship of the Press, in France, partially removed, ii. 229; removed, 231; revived, 232; abolished, 235; restored, 237; abolished, 238; in England, under Cromwell, 426

Centralisation, in France, ii. 96, 97, 98

Chambord, Comte de, his resolute adhesion to the white flag, ii. 330; failure of attempts at fusion, 331

Changarnier, General, prevents storming of the Hôtel de Ville, ii. 288; superseded in command of Paris, 296

Charlemagne, his schools, i. 253, 254; reduces the Frisians, ii. 4; his appointment of municipal officers in the Netherlands, 7

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, thrice defeated by the Swiss, i. 347; gives up Liége to pillage, ii. 22; his tyranny in the Netherlands, 22

Charles X. of France, his accession, ii. 235; his character, 235 and n.; under priestly influence, 235, 236 [*France*]

Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, begins the war for Italian unity, ii. 275

Charles V., Emperor, becomes sovereign of the Netherlands, ii. 25; enlarges powers of the Spanish crown, 27; suppresses insurrections and overthrows ancient liberties of Spain, 27, 28; his rule in the Netherlands, 28; his hostility to the Reformation, 32; his cruel persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands, 33; abdicates, 35

Charles I. of England, his character, ii. 374; his bad faith, 377; resolves to govern without a Parliament, 379; convokes another, 383; dissolves it, 384; summons a council of peers at York, 384; summons the Long Parliament, 385; assents to attainder of Strafford, 387; his rights infringed by Act against dissolution of parliament, 393; attempts to arrest the five members,

396; refuses assent to the Militia Bill, 397; leaves London, 398; prepares for war, 398; his adherents, 399; divided counsels, 399; summons a parliament at Oxford, 401; negotiations at Uxbridge, 401; defeated at Naseby, 404; takes refuge with the Scots, 404, 405; given up by them, 405; seized and taken to the camp, 407; in captivity, 407; rejects the propositions of the army, 408; escapes from Hampton Court, 409; imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle, 409; treats with the parliament, 409; his secret treaty with the Scots, 410; accused of treachery and treason; his trial demanded, 411; his trial and execution, 416; contemporary sentiments, 416, 417; the judgment of posterity, 417

Charles, Prince of Wales, proclaimed King in Scotland, ii. 422; defeated by Cromwell at Worcester, 422; restoration of, 434; his rule, 437

Chartists, the, in England, organisation of, ii. 464; their methods of action, 464; the procession to Westminster of April 10, 1848, prohibited and prevented, 465; weakness of their cause, 465

China, early civilisation of, i. 15; theoretical principles of its government, 16; Confucius and Mencius, 16; restraints upon the power of the emperor, 17; superiority of its jurisprudence, 18; functionaries, 18; boards and other offices, 18; vices of administration, 18; the censors, 19; extensive system of education, 19; learning the sole road to power, 19; influence of the literati upon public opinion, 20; frequency of insurrections, 20; village communities, 20; simplicity of the State religion, 21; industry of the people, 21; causes of the absence of freedom, 22; absence of wealthy and middle classes, 22; density of population, 23; moral condition of the people, 23; their unsocial isolation, 23

Chivalry, institution of, its refining influences, i, 243

Christianity, influence of, upon European civilisation, i. 229; its precepts, 230; addresses itself to the individual, 230, n.; appealed to in support of opposite systems, 230, 231, nn.; its propagation, 232; corruptions of churches, 233; church government, 234; growth of power of bishops and priests, 234 [*Church of Rome*]

Church of England, the revival in the, Introd. lx.; the royal supremacy established by Henry VIII., ii. 355; reformation effected by the king, 356; its doctrines and ceremonies mainly Lutheran, 362; revolt of the Puritans against, 362; attempts of Queen Elizabeth to repress divisions, 364; rise of nonconformity, 364; Catholic reaction under Mary, 365; illegal canons of Convocation sanctioned by James I., 368; exalts prerogative, 369; passive obedience taught, 378; its policy directed by Laud, 381; proceedings of the Long Parliament against the clergy, 389; episcopacy assailed by the Puritans, 396; the Presbyterian polity introduced, the Episcopal clergy ejected, 405; held sacred the memory of 'King Charles the Martyr,' 417; restored to ascendency at the Restoration, 436; persecutes the Puritans, 436; resists the encroachments of James II., 438; its repose in the 18th century, 445; disturbed by Wesley and Whitefield, 454; affected as the church of the people, 454; her policy threatened, 455 [*Bishops, Presbyterians, Puritans*]

Church of Rome, her hold on cultivated minds shaken by modern free thought, Introd. lix.; partial recovery of her power, lix.; the revival accompanied by superstitious doctrines and practices, lx.; the pontiff, i. 235; influence of, upon freedom, 235; the ascetic spirit, 235; its teaching adverse to freedom, 236; the church and civilisation, 237; the priesthood, 237; its salutary moral influence, 238; its relations to the poor, 238; to the aristocracy, 239; to kings, 239; claims of the Pope, 239; its spiritual and secular power a check to freedom, 241; represses free inquiry,

260; its influence impaired by growth of modern languages, 261; conflict of, with freedom of thought, 265; its unity threatened by heresies, 266; the Inquisition, 267; growth of opposition to, 268; its claim of supreme dominion, 268; the Protestant Reformation, 269; Catholic reaction, 271; ascendency of, maintained in Belgium, ii. 82; in France, originally a source of weakness to the crown, 87; resists the new philosophy of France, 121; her teaching unchanged, 121; expulsion of the Huguenots, 121; when exposed to criticism, unequal to the strife, 122; re-established in France by Bonaparte, 212; strife of Henry VIII. with, 354, 355; Catholic reaction in Europe, 365; persecution of Catholics by James I., 369

Cicero, M. Tullius, wins popularity, i. 195; discovers Catiline's conspiracy, 196; banished, 199; recalled, 200

Cimon, rival of Pericles, his largesses to the people, i. 82; takes part in fortifications of Athens, 83

Cinna, L. Corn., his reversal of Sulla's policy, i. 187: with Marius, takes Rome, 188; consul, 189; slain, 189

Ciompi, the [*Florence*]

Cisalpine republic, the, created, ii. 201; made a kingdom, 216

Civilis, Batavian chief, resists the Romans, ii. 4

Civilisation, its connection with freedom, Introd. xxi. xxii.; contrasts between Eastern and Western, i. 1; inferiority of Eastern, 1–3; its unprogressive character, 2; arrested by wars, 2; freedom unknown to it, 3; Greek, 132; European, promoted by influence of traditions of Rome, 227, 228; by the church, 237; by chivalry, 243; Byzantine, characterised, 256; Saracen, 257; influence of the Jews on European, 259; ancient, recovered, 261

Cleisthenes, constitution of, i. 70–74

Clients, class of, at Rome, i. 167

Clodius, demagogue at Rome, i. 189

Climate, effects of, on freedom, Introd. xxxii.; tropical, conducive to despotism, xxxii.; temperate, conducive to freedom, xxxiii; of India, i. 7; of Palestine, 32; of Greece, 42; of Italy, 135; of Switzerland, 335; of the Netherlands, ii. 12; of France, 86; of England, 335

Clubs, political, at Athens, i. 88; enter into plot of Peisander, 88; at Rome, 150; revival of, proposed by Clodius, 199, n.; at Geneva, 375; revolutionary, at Paris, confederation of, ii. 148; their importance, 166, n.; their confederation suppressed, 194; reopened in France, 282; join in inciting to insurrection, June 1848, 290; suppressed by Cavaignac, 291

Cobden, Mr., one of the leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League, ii. 466

Collot d'Herbois, ii. 182, 184, 194, 195

Colonisation, Greek, i. 131, 132; relations of colonies to mother country, 131, n.; Roman, in Italy, 154; beyond the Alps, proposed by Marius, 183; British colonies under responsible government, ii. 474

Columbus, Christopher, i. 265

Comitia, the, at Rome, admission of the *plebs* to, i. 143; checks upon, 151; vote by ballot introduced, 174; order of voting changed, 178; changes under Sulla, 192; daily report of its proceedings ordered by Cæsar, 198; controlled by Octavius, 206, 207; fall into disuse, 208; irregular action of, 214

Committee of Public Safety [*French Revolution*]

Commons, the House of, acquires independent place in the legislature, ii. 348; its growing powers, 349; reaction against, 352; under Henry VIII. nominees of the crown, 356; claims freedom of speech under Elizabeth, 358; contests the prerogative under James I., 370; presents a remonstrance to the king, 371; Charles I. and his Parliaments, 374–387; interferes with the House of Lords, 390; restrains freedom of debate and right of petition, 391; presents the Grand Remonstrance to the king, 394 and n.; arrest of the five members, 396;

passes the Militia Bill, 397; appoints High Court of Justice for trial of Charles I., 413; declares itself supreme, 413; management of, by gift of places and pensions, an art of statesmanship, after the Revolution, 443 [*Parliament*]

Commonwealth, the [*England*]

Commune, the [*France, Paris*]

Communists, the most mischievous fanatics of democracy, Introd. lxiv.; decry 'individualism,' lxv.; tyranny of communism, its depression of higher natures, lxv.; proscription of higher aims of society, lxvi. and n.; its dreams realised in France, lxvi.; culmination of its dangers in the Paris Commune, 1871, lxvii.; a revolt against capital, lxvii.; overcome by the second French empire, lxvii; in France, conspiracy of Babœuf, ii. 200 and n.; under republic of 1848, 283 [*International Association, Socialists*]

Condottieri, the, i. 314; Swiss, 362

Confucius, i. 16

Conscience, freedom of, proclaimed by William, Prince of Orange, ii. 58; progress of the struggle for, in Europe, 69

Conscription, the, introduced in France, ii. 204

Constantinople, saved amidst wreck of Europe, i. 256; oriental character of its civilisation, 256; arts of, 256; its literary treasures, buried, 257

Constituent Assembly [*French Revolution*]

Consuls, chiefs of Roman Republic, i. 139; their simple state, 140; office suspended and military tribunes appointed, 148; restored, first plebeian elected, 148; canvassing for the consulate forbidden, 149; their check upon the Comitia, 151; form of consulate preserved under the empire, 208

Corday, Charlotte, ii. 178

Cordeliers' Club, the, ii. 148, 156

Cortes, the, of Spanish kingdoms, ii. 26

Corvée, the, in France, ii. 102

Country gentlemen, their position and influence in England, ii. 349, 353, 446, 481

Couthon, ii. 184, 189

Crassus, M. Licinius, one of the chiefs of the oligarchy, i. 193; joins the democracy, 195; his wealth and influence, 195; Triumvir, commander in Syria, 200; death, 201

Critias, author of the proscription at Athens, i. 91; his death, 92

Cromwell, Oliver, one of the leaders of the Independents, ii. 402; his character and influence, 402; under the self-denying ordinance, supersedes the Presbyterian generals, 403; defeats Charles I. at Naseby, 404; assumes chief command, 407; overcomes the Parliament, 407; represses political agitation in the army, 410; with his generals resolves to bring the king to justice, 410; repels invasion of the Scots, 411; 'Pride's Purge,' 412; declines to advise trial of Charles I., 412 and n.; as captain-general, virtually supreme, 422; dissolves the Long Parliament, 423; nominates Barebone's Parliament, 423; dissolves it, 424; declared Protector for life, 424; his electoral reform Act, 425; his authority questioned by the new Parliament, 425; dissolves it, 425; governs with the army, 426; vigour of his rule, 426; threatened with assassination, 427; calls another Parliament, 427; his ambition, the crown offered to him, 428; and refused, 429; confirmed as Protector, 429; dissolves the Parliament, 429; his death, 429; his character, 430; his toleration, 431

Cromwell, Richard, succeeds his father as Protector of the Commonwealth, ii. 431; resigns, 432

Crusades, the, i. 244; their influence upon European enlightenment, 244, 245; upon feudalism, 245, 246; upon the enfranchisement of communes, 246

DANTE, banished from Florence, i. 307

Danton, ii. 148, 156; leader of the Commune of Paris, 163, 164 and n.;

166; weary of bloodshed, 188; overthrown by Robespierre, 189; 193

Dark Ages, the, i. 221, 222, 223, 240; life of man in, 263, n.

De Brienne, exiles the Parliament of Paris, and recals it, ii. 133; arrests d'Esprémenil and Goislart, 133; resigns, 134

'Defensional,' the [*Swiss Confederation*]

'Delinquents,' ii. 388 and n.; 389; sequestration of their estates, 406

Democracy, development of popular power a natural law, Introd. xxix. and n.; illustrations from English history, and from French history, xxx., xxxi.; democratic tendencies of town populations, xlii.; its power increased by events following the Protestant Reformation, xlvii.; and the French revolution, xlvii.; freedom the firmest barrier against it, lviii.; its development arrested by formation of great standing armies, lviii.; and checked by ecclesiastical revival, lix.; relations of infidelity with, lxii., lxiii.; its excesses in Europe, lxiii.; irreverence and intolerance of the extreme party, lxiii.; highest ideal of, lxiv.; its ideal decried by Communists, lxv.; its probable future progress, lxx., lxxi. and nn.; element of, in republic of Carthage, i. 30; in Jewish theocracy, 34, 35; in Greek republics, 43; in the Agora, 45; advance of, in Greece, 52; moderate, preferred by Aristotle, 53, n. and 55, n.; varieties of, 54; advanced by growth of towns, 59; democratic institutions at Sparta, 64; most fully developed at Athens, 67; scheme of, consummated by introduction of payment for public services, 82; evils of Athenian, 86; lowering of its character, 118; general principles illustrated by study of Greek democracy, 128; growth of, in Rome, 146; Roman compared with Athenian, 210; its share in the overthrow of the republic, 212

— Extinguished during the dark ages, i. 223; Greek and Teutonic, contrasted, 250; germ of, in Calvin's theocracy, 271; of the Italian republics, 277; the basis of Savonarola's reform, 327; examples of, in Switzerland, 333; simplest form of, in the Forest Cantons, 340, 341; in the Grisons, 355; in the rural cantons, conservative, 357; primary doctrine of a pure democracy, 397; maintained in Swiss institutions, 397; instructive study of, afforded by the Swiss Confederation, 402; twofold illustration of, in history of the Netherlands, ii. 1; Dutch refugees catch the spirit of French democracy, 78; late growth of, in France, 85; the Jacquerie, 88; Stephen Marcel, 89; represented in 14th century by Rienzi, Marcel and the Van Arteveldes, 90; democratic basis of the French Empire, 213; spread of, by campaigns of revolutionary France, 221; its principles and character changed, 222; reaction against it, in Europe, 223; advances of, in France, 232; impulse from the revolution of July, 245; held in check in Germany, 278; freedom the safeguard against it, 279; ascendency of, in France, 280 and n.; universal reaction against, 291; new development of, in second French Empire, 311; combination of, with Imperialism, attempted by Napoleon III., 317; in England, represented by Puritanism, 395, n.; the Independents, first democratic party in England, 401; bears small share in revolution of 1688, 438, 439; its principles maintained by speculative writers, but without influence on practical government, 441; symptoms of, in first years of George III., 448; fostered by American War of Independence, 449; democratic movement in England, 450; repressed by Parliament and public opinion, 450; becomes a great political force, 451; advances towards it, by changes in the representation, 472, 473; spread of democratic opinions in England, 475; democratic aspects of the English government, 476 [*England, Florence, France, Greece, Italian Republics, Netherlands, Rome, Switzerland, &c.*]

Demosthenes, i. 93; his efforts to reform abuses, 119, 125, 127

Desèze, defends Louis XVI. on his trial, ii. 170

DES

Desmoulins, Camille, ii. 188

De Witt, John; pensionary of Holland, ii. 75; procures the passing of the Perpetual Edict, 75; murdered, with his brother Cornelius, 76

Dicasteries, the, of Athens, i. 71; constitution and jurisdiction of, 75, 76; a field for cultivation of oratory, 76; contribute to intellectual development of the citizens, 77

Diderot, and the Encyclopédie, ii, 119; its doctrines, borrowed from English philosophers, 119, 120; their prevalence in Europe, 120; society penetrated by them, 123

Digges, Sir Dudley, committed to the Tower, ii. 375

Directory, the [*France, French Revolution*]

Dissent, progress of, in England and Wales, ii. 454 [*Calvinists, Nonconformists, Puritans*]

Doge, the, of Venice, first election and powers of, i. 289; limitations of his power, 291, 292; of Genoa, 295

Dumouriez, General, ii. 174

EAST, the [*Aryans, Carthage, China, Civilisation, Egypt, India, Japan, Jews, Persia, Phœnicians, Turkey*]

Ecclesia, of Athens, the sovereign political power, i. 71; extension of its powers, 78; payment for attendance introduced, 81; receives ambassadors, 87, n.; range of its powers and functions, 87

Edward the Confessor, the old line of native kings restored in him, ii. 344

Edward I., II., III., IV. [*Parliament*]

Education, extensive system of, in China, i. 19; ideal of Greek, 106; means of, at Athens, 107; free under Roman empire, 219; obstacles to, in the dark ages, 241; revival of learning, 253; promoted by Charlemagne; his schools and universities, 253, 254; promoted by the Saracens, the schools of Bagdad, 257; and in Spain, 258; the Scholastic system, 260; interference of the Jesuits with, in Switzerland, 390, 391; high standard of, in the Netherlands, ii. 19; universality of, in Holland, 70; national system

ENG

of, founded in France, by the Convention, 178; general diffusion of, in Europe, 274; progress of, in England, 349, 350, 361, 457; promoted by cheap literature, 457

Egmont, Count [*Netherlands*]

Egypt, its religion and polity of Eastern origin, i. 25; division of society into castes, 26; enlightenment confined to the rulers, 27; despotic government, supported by physical conditions of the country, 27; and confirmed by Turkish conquest, 27; introduction of European civilisation, 27; the Khedive absolute, 28; captivity of Israelites in, 33

Eliot, Sir John, committed to the Tower, ii. 375; again, 379; refuses submission, and dies in the Tower, 379; the judgment reversed by House of Lords, 379

Elizabeth, queen of England, refuses aid to the United Provinces, ii. 48; promises aid, 52; sovereignty of the Netherlands offered to her, 60; declines it, but sends troops, 61; her views, 61; her reign the turning point in the political fortunes of England, 357; maintains her prerogative, 358

Empire, the French, first and second [*France, Napoleon Bonaparte, Napoleon, Louis*]

Encyclopédie, the [*Diderot*]

England, her aid sought by the Dutch, ii. 60, 61; ties between England and Holland, 74; joins the coalition against France, 174 and n.; her relations with France disturbed by intrigues of Louis Philippe about the Spanish marriages, 265; opposition in their foreign policy, 265; state of, 1830 to 1848, 272; secure amidst revolutions of 1848, 278; her history that of liberty, not of democracy, 334; character of the country, 335; the climate, the soil, 335; the scenery, 336; minerals, 337; the Celts, the Romans, 337; Roman towns, 338; influence of Rome upon later times, 339; resemblance between ancient Rome and England, 339; the Anglo-Saxons, 339, 340; their conquests, 340 and n.; Teu-

tonic laws and customs introduced, 341; free institutions, 342 and n.; the witenagemot, 342, 343; the Danes, 343; the Norman Conquest, 344; policy of William the Conqueror, 344; Norman feudalism, a military organisation, 345; political changes, 346; the crown and the people, 346; measures of Henry I. and Henry II., 346; the barons and the people, 347; Magna Charta, 347; increasing power of parliament, 348; deposition of Edward II. and Richard II. by the parliament, 348, 349; political and social progress in the fourteenth century, 349; Wycliffe and religious inquiry, 350; the Lollards, 350; decay of feudalism, 350, 351; statutes of labourers, 351; popular discontents, 351; Wat Tyler's insurrection, 352; reaction against the Commons, 352, 353; Wars of the Roses, feudalism crushed, 353 and n.; increase of kingly power, 354; absolutism of Edward IV., of Henry VII., and Henry VIII., 354; Henry VIII. effects the Reformation, 355; his supremacy, 355; the parliaments do his bidding, 356; increased power of the crown, 356; course of the Reformation, 357; Catholic reaction under Queen Mary, frequent changes of religion, 357; reign of Elizabeth, 357, 358; social changes, nobles and country gentlemen, 358, 359; their conservatism, 359; rise of a powerful middle class, 360; commerce and manufactures, 360; intellectual progress, 361; Grammar schools, 361; religious movements, 362; character and position of the reformed church, 362; Calvinists, 362; the English Bible, 363; the Puritan character, 363; Elizabeth and the Puritans, 365

— Accession of the Stuarts, 366; James I., 367; the king and the church, 368, 369; canons of 1604, 369; Gunpowder plot, 369; levy of taxes by prerogative, 370; dissolution of first parliament of James I., 371; a second summoned and dissolved, members committed to prison, 371; government without a parliament, 372; third parliament meets, and is dissolved by the king, 372; fourth meets, 373; increasing power of constituencies, 373; close of James's reign, 373; first parliament of Charles I., 374; limited grant of tonnage and poundage; dissolution of parliament, 375; the king's relations with the new parliament, 375; taxes levied without consent of parliament, 376; forced loans, 376; another parliament summoned, 376; the Petition of Right, 377; the king's bad faith, 377; duties of tonnage and poundage, 378; the king's determination to govern without a parliament, 379; committal of Sir John Eliot and other members, 379; taxes by prerogative, 379; ship-money, 380; tyranny and severity of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, 380; the king's policy directed by Laud and Strafford, 381; persecution of the Puritans, 381; their emigration, 382; growing discontent, 382; rebellion in Scotland, 382; the king's embarrassment, 382; the short parliament of 1640, 383; character of the new House of Commons, 383; dissolution, 384; the Scots in rebellion, invasion of England, 384; the long parliament, 385; remedial measures, 385, 386; impeachments, 386, 387; rashness of the court, 396; arrest of the five members, 396; the militia bill, 397

— The civil war, 400; fruitless negotiations for peace, 401; Oliver Cromwell, 402; the self-denying ordinance, 403; new modelling of the army, 404; its religious enthusiasm, 404; the battle of Naseby, 404; fall of the Church of England, 405; severities of the parliament, 406; invasion by the Scots, 410; growth of republican opinions, 413; republicanism in the army, 413; the Levellers, 414; piety and regicide, 414; execution of the king, 416; the Commonwealth, Council of State appointed, 419; abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, 419; republican theories, 420 and n., 421 and n.; Cromwell's supremacy, 422; the long parliament dissolved, 423; Barebone's Parliament, 423, 424; the Protectorate, 424; its constitution, 424, 425; the new parliament,

425; government by the army, military districts formed under major-generals, 426; commanding position of the Commonwealth, 427; death of Cromwell, 429; Richard Cromwell Protector, 431; his resignation, 432; 'the Rump,' 432; a committee of safety, 432; anarchy, 433; intervention of General Monk, 433; a new parliament, 434; the Restoration, 434; effects of the civil war upon the monarchy, 435; reaction under Charles II., 436; elements of future freedom, 437; James II., 437, 438; the Revolution of 1688, 438; its principles, 439; securities taken for public liberties, 439; characteristics of the Revolution, 440; reign of William III., 440, 441; the political writings of the time, 441, 442; the representation, 442; 'management' of the Commons, 443; power of the aristocracy, 443; influence of the press, 444; agitations against unpopular measures, 444; ascendency of the crown, the church and the land-owners, 445; the nobles, 445, 446; the country gentlemen, 446

— First years of George III., 448; effects of American War of Independence, 449; democratic movement, 450; effects of the French Revolution, 450 and 451 n.; the Six Acts, 451; social changes, 451; growth of towns, commerce and navigation, 452; the land in its relations to trade and manufactures, 453; the Church and Dissent, 454; the policy of the church and the land threatened, 455; political education, 455; freedom of the press, 456; education, 457; political associations, 457; dangers of vast assemblages, 459; the Catholic association, 460; Catholic meetings, 461; Catholic emancipation, 461; Reform Bill, 1832, 462; Anti-slavery Society, 464; the Chartists, 464, 465; Anti-Corn-Law League, 466; meetings in Hyde Park, 467, 468; the Match Tax, 468; minor agitations, 469; Trades Unions, 470; changes in the representation, 472; Ballot Act, 473; increase of popular influence, 473; continuity of reforms, 474;

loyalty of the English, 476, 477, 478, 479; no professions of republicanism, 480; conservative elements of society, 480, 481; sound conditions of society, 481 [*Commons, Independents, Lords, Parliament, Presbyterians, Puritans, Reform*]

Ephialtes, democratic leader at Athens, i. 75; effect of his scrutiny of magistrates, 78

Ephors, council of the, i. 62, 64

Europe, its physical conditions favourable to freedom, Introd. xxxv.; later developments of democracy, xlvi-xlix.; disorganisation of society in, after fall of Western empire, i. 221; barbarian conquests, 221; the dark ages, 222; the feudal system, 223; causes of social and political improvement, 223; rude freedom of Teutonic invaders, 224; their customs introduced into Italy and elsewhere, 225; relations of chiefs and vassals, 226; influence of traditional institutions of Rome, 226, 227; feudalism ruinous to towns, 227; great monarchies favoured by traditions of Rome, 228; Roman laws, jurists, 228, 229; Christianity and the Catholic Church, 229; six centuries of darkness, 240; some schoolmen favourable to liberty, 240, n.; growing refinement of the barons, 242; minstrelsy, 242; chivalry, 243; enthusiasm of the Crusades, 244; their influence upon European enlightenment, 244; upon feudalism, 245; upon the enfranchisement of communes, 246; revival of towns, 247; decay of feudalism, 249; Imperial and free cities of Germany, 250; growth of European constitutions, 253; revival of learning, 253; schools and universities, 253; influence of monasteries, 254, 255; introduction of Saracen culture, 258; influence of Jewish culture, 259; of the schoolmen, 260; growth of modern European languages, 261; recovery of classical learning, 261; the revival of learning, 262; scientific discoveries, 264; churchmen supplanting nobles in the service of the State, 265; heresies and schisms, 266; first struggles for civil and

religious liberty, 267; the Inquisition, 267; the Protestant Reformation, 269; prerogative increased by Lutheranism, 270; Calvinism, 271; Catholic reaction, 271; prevalence of the new philosophy in Europe in the 18th century, ii. 120; the church and public opinion, 120, *et seq.*; state of, at the period of the French Revolution, 1789, 153; effects of the Revolution, 221; altered position of kings, 222; political reaction in, 223; influence of Revolution of July, 1830, on States of, 245; state of, from 1830 to 1848, 272; social changes, 173; intellectual progress, 273; sudden effects of the Revolution of February 1848, 274

FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas, appointed general of the parliamentary army, ii. 403; takes part in repelling Scottish invasion, 411

Favre, Jules, his circular to the foreign representatives of France, ii. 319; his sudden dismissal, 332

Federalism; the Achaian League, i. 129; the Lycian League, 131; Free cities of Germany, 250; the Hanseatic and Rhenish Leagues, 252; in Switzerland, 343, 345, 347, 396; confederation of towns of Flanders and Brabant, ii. 15

Feudal system, the, i. 223; ruinous to towns, 227; refining influence of chivalry, 243; decline of, promoted by crusades, 245; its decay, 249; alliance of feudal lords in Italy with the burghers, 275; in Switzerland, 336, 350; in the Netherlands, ii. 4, 5; successfully resisted by the Frisians, 5; the baron and the burgomaster, 9; resolute hostility of the Dutch burghers, 11, 12 and n.; established in France by the Franks, 86; overthrown by Richelieu, 87; struggles against, in 14th century, 88, 89; feudal rights and privileges renounced by French Constituent Assembly, 143; Norman feudalism, 345; in England, weakened by measures of Henry II., 346, 347; Wat Tyler's insurrection, a revolt against, 352; crushed by Wars of the Roses, 353; the kingly power rising upon its ruins, 354

Feuillants' Club, the, at Paris, ii. 148, 156, 157

Fieschi, his attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe, ii. 255

Fifth Monarchy Men [*Millenarians*]

Five Hundred, Council of, at Athens, i. 71; its proceedings watched by assessors, 78; its functions and deficiencies, 79

Florence, its favourable position, i. 296; compared with Athens, 298; its constitution, 299; Guelph and Ghibelline, 299; a foreign *podestà* chosen, 299, n.; democratic movement in, election of the Signoria, 304; its vigorous policy, the Guelphic nobles recalled, war against the Ghibelline cities, 304; taken possession of, by Ghibelline army, 304; new democratic constitution, 304; ascendency of the mercantile class, 305; exclusion of nobles from the Signoria, 305; first appointment of the *gonfalonier* of justice, 305; an oligarchy established, 306; feuds and factions, 307; jealous spirit of democracy, choice of rulers by lot, 307; constitution of 1328, 307; the leader of free republics, 308; aims at a balance of power in Italy, 308; resists John of Bohemia, 308; rule of the Duke of Athens, 308; drives him away, 309; growth of a new aristocracy, 309; rivalry of old and new families (fourteenth century), 309; the Medici, 310; revolt of the Ciompi, 310; Michael de Lando proclaimed gonfalonier, and soon afterwards exiled, 311; overthrow of the Ciompi, and subjection of the democracy, 311; democratic spirit of the republic, 311; conspiracy of the Pazzi, assassination of Julian de' Medici, 323; condition of, in the fifteenth century, 323; popular rule of the Albizzi, 324; their rivals and successors, the Medici, 324; the 'parliaments' ready instruments of revolution, 324; Cosmo de' Medici, 324, 325; prosperity under his rule, 325; Peter de' Medici, Lorenzo de' Medici, 326; change in the constitution, 326; and in foreign relations, 327; Savonarola, his religious and political reforms, 327, 328; expulsion of the Medici, 327;

election of a gonfalonier for life with dictatorial powers, 328; Peter Soderini first chosen, 328; the Medici recalled, and again expelled, 328; fall of the republic, 328; Alexander de' Medici, 328, 329

Forest Cantons, the [*Switzerland*]

Four Hundred, Council of, at Athens, i. 69; converted by Cleisthenes into Council of Five Hundred, 71; established by Peisander, 89; deposed, 89

France, bigoted policy of the League, ii. 60; Henry III. declines offer of sovereignty of the Netherlands, 60; anarchy in, 62; conquest of, projected by Philip II., 62; late growth of democracy in, 85; the country and the people, 85, 86; conquest of the Gauls by the Franks, 86; establishment of feudalism, 86; growth of the monarchy, 87; overthrow of the feudal chiefs, 87; the church, 87; supreme power of the crown; 87; misery and discontents of the people, 88; the Jacquerie, 88, 89; democratic career of Stephen Marcel, 89; rebellion in Paris, 90; municipal liberties, 90; the states-general, first convened by Philip the Fair, 92; provincial assemblies, 93; the parliaments, 94; the monarchy absolute under Louis XIV., 95; centralisation, 96; functions of the intendants, 96, 97; the courts of justice, 97; concentration of power in Paris, 97, 98; evils of absolutism, 98; court of Louis XIV., 99; evils of the court, 99, 100; high offices monopolised by the nobles, 100, 101; sale of offices, 101; exemptions of nobles, 102; burdens upon the peasantry, 102, 103; effects of non-residence, 103, 104, n.; resident proprietors, 104; peasant proprietors, 105, 106, n.; the *métayers*, 106; the game-laws, 106; weight of taxes, 107; the militia, 107; no agricultural middle-class, 108; famines and bread riots, 108; beggars, 109; impoverishment of the nobles, 109, 110; abdication of their duties as a governing class, 110; rise of other classes, official nobles, 110; 111; capitalists a power in the State, 111, 112; influence of men of letters, 112; the *bourgeoisie*, a race of place-hunters, 112, 113; civic notables, their pretensions and disputes, 113; the clergy, their sympathies with the poor, 114; multitude of lawyers, 114; political and social condition of the country, 115; the new philosophy, 115, 116; prohibition of political discussion, 116; Voltaire, his aims and influence, 117; Rousseau, his philosophy, 118; Diderot, and the *Encyclopédie*, 119 and n.; the church and public opinion, 121; the Huguenots, 121; the lower classes unsettled by the new doctrines, 122, 123; absence of healthy public opinion, 123; influence of classical learning, 124; political failures of Louis XIV., 124, 125; reign and policy of Louis XV., 125, 126

— Louis XVI., 127; reforms of Turgot, 128, 129; recognition of American independence and war with England, 130, 449; expenses of the war, 130; provincial assemblies revived, 131; Necker's *compte rendu*, 131; power of public opinion, 132 and n.; an assembly of notables, 132; Calonne, 132; De Brienne, exile of parliament of Paris, 133; the states-general demanded, 133; convoked, 134; events of the revolution, 135–199; France under the Directory, 200; the war, 200, 201; royalists in the councils, 201; measures of the Directory, 202; *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor, 202; ruled by the sword, 202; proscription of the royalists, 202; the republican army, 203; expedition to Egypt, 203; to Switzerland, 203, 204; propaganda of the Revolution, 204; renewal of the coalition, 204; the conscription introduced, 204; troubles of the Directory, 204; the new Directory, 205; return of Bonaparte from Egypt, 206; *coup d'état*, 18 Brumaire, 206; the Council of Ancients, 207; the Council of Five Hundred dispersed, 208, 209; disregard for liberty throughout the revolution, 209; Bonaparte first consul, 209; constitution of Sieyès, 210; the plébiscite introduced, 210 n.; general reaction, 210, 211

— The rule of Bonaparte, 211;

FRA

Peace of Amiens, 211; the Catholic church re-established, 212; Bonaparte first consul for life, the empire, 213; the imperial court, the coronation of Napoleon, 214; the revolution renounced, 215; Napoleon and the revolution, 215; repudiation of republics, 215; hereditary nobility restored, 216; the invasion of Russia, battle of Leipsic, 219; discontents in the country, 219; the legislative assembly, 220; abdication of Napoleon, 220; results of the revolution, 220, 221; Louis XVIII. restored, 224; conditions of the restoration, 224; his charter of 1814, 225; return of Napoleon from Elba, 225; second restoration, foreign occupation, 226; weakness of the monarchy, 226; decay of loyalty, 227; France transformed, 227 and n.; political parties, 228; exercise of prerogative, 229; violence of the royalists, 229; *coup d'état*, 1816, 230; defeat of the royalists, 230; electoral law of 1817, 231; liberal measures, 231; the king opposed to the royalists, 231; creation of new peers, 231; increasing strength of the democratic party, 232; royalist reaction, 232; the Villèle ministry, 233; formation of secret societies, 233; the Spanish war, 234; death of Louis XVIII., 234; accession of Charles X., 235; the king surrounded by priests and Jesuits, 235; unpopular measures, discontents, 236; dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, 237; creation of new peers, 237; the De Martignac ministry, 237; liberal measures of the new chambers, 238; the Polignac ministry, 238; want of confidence in it, 239; another dissolution, 239; *coup d'état*, 239; the ordinances, 239, 240; want of preparation, 240; insurrection in Paris, July 1830, 241; the liberal leaders, 242; the king deposed, 242; his abdication and flight, 243; Louis Philippe, king of the French, 244; influence of the revolution on foreign States, 245

— The king's difficulties, 246; state of parties, 247; reliance upon the middle classes, 248 and n.; socialism, 248; contrast between 1789 and 1830, 249; ministry of

FRA

Lafitte, of Casimir Périer, 249; abolition of hereditary peerage, 250; discontents and insurrections, 250, 251; insurrection in Paris, 251; the king obliged to exceed the law, the 'red republic,' 252; Marshal Soult's ministry, 253; creation of new peers, 253; relation of the king to parties, 253; repressive measures resisted, 254; corruption, 254; attempts to assassinate the king, 255 and n.; ministry of Thiers, 255; attempt of Louis Napoleon at Strasburg, 256; conflict of parties, creation of new peers, 256; Soult's second ministry, 256; insurrection of Barbès, 256; its objects, 257; parliamentary parties, 257, 258; agitation for reform, 258; conservatism of the king, 258; second ministry of Thiers, 259; Louis Napoleon at Boulogne, 260; fall of Thiers, 260; third ministry of Soult, 261; discontent of the working classes, 261, 262; agitation for electoral reform, reform banquets, 262; Polish banquet prohibited, 262; electoral reform resisted by the government, 263; death of the Duc d'Orléans, 264; continued opposition to reform, 264; escape of Louis Napoleon, 264; the Spanish marriages, 265; estrangement of England, 265; exposure of corruption, 266; revived agitation for reform, reform banquets, 266; socialist agitation, 267, n.; reform banquet, Feb. 1848, 267; the procession abandoned, 268; tumults, 268; defection of the National Guard, 269; ministry of Thiers and Odilon Barrot, 269; insurrection in Paris, 269; military occupation, the troops withdrawn, 270; abdication of the king, 270; the Duchess of Orleans and her sons, 270; the provisional government, 271; a republic proclaimed, 271; failures of Louis Philippe's reign, 271

— The republic of 1848, democracy in the ascendant, 280; watchwords of the revolution, precedents of 1792 followed, 281; national workshops, 282; the *Garde Mobile*, Red Republicans, 282; Socialists and Communists, 283; organisation of labour, 284 and n.; new taxes, 285; national assembly convoked, 286; in-

vasion of the Hôtel de Ville by Socialists and Red Republicans, 287; an insurrection thwarted, 288; meeting of the Assembly, 288; storming of the Assembly, 289; Socialist insurrection of June 1848, 290; General Cavaignac dictator, the insurrection suppressed, 290; reaction against the revolution, 291; new constitution decreed, 291; Louis Napoleon elected president, 291; significance of his election, 292; resistance of parties to his aims, 293 and n.; difference and jealousy between the president and the Assembly, 294, 295 and nn.; change of ministry, 297; revision of the constitution, 297; a conflict imminent, 299 and n.; the *coup d'état* in preparation, 300; accomplished (Dec. 2, 1851), 301; dissolution of the Assembly, 302; arrest and imprisonment of members of the Assembly, 302, 303; the high court of justice closed by force, 303; the massacre on the Boulevards, 304, 305, n.; measures of coercion, 305, 306; the departments in a state of siege or under martial law, 306; the *plébiscite*, Louis Napoleon absolute master of France, 307; preparations for the second empire, 308; the empire established by *plébiscite*, 308; the emperor's marriage, 309; the nobles, 309 and n., 310; the imperial court, 310 and nn.; principles of government, 311; wars of the empire, 312, 313; domestic policy, 313; corruption, 314; employment of labour, 315; war with Prussia (1870), 316; a liberal ministry, 316; fatal issue of the war, Sedan, 317; deposition of the emperor, the republic proclaimed, the Government of National Defence appointed, 318; fate of the first and second empires compared, 318; resistance continued by the Government of National Defence, 319; fall of Paris, 320; the National Assembly at Bordeaux, 320; rigorous conditions of the peace, 321; deposition of the emperor confirmed, 321; the Commune, 321, 322, 323 and n.; its principles, 326 and n.; Communist outrages, 327; Paris in flames, 328; overthrow of the Commune, 328; executions of Communist, 328; the republic under Thiers, 329; the royalists and the Comte de Chambord, 329, 330; the conflicts of parties, 330; Marshal MacMahon president, 331; the Septennate decreed, 332; the new constitution, 332; the republican ministry dismissed, the Chambers dissolved, 332; political future of France, 332, 333 [*French Revolution, Napoleon Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, States-General*]

Franks, the, subjugate Switzerland, i. 336; conquer the Gauls, ii. 86

Frederick Barbarossa, emperor, attacks the cities of North Italy, i. 300; deprives them of their liberties, 300; his rivalry with the Pope, 300; resisted by the Lombard League, concludes a truce, 301; concludes treaty of Constance, 301

Freedom, its connection with civilisation, Introd. xxi. xxii.; moral, social, and political causes of, xxii. *sqq.*; its obligations to statesmen and thinkers, xxiii.; doctrines of Aquinas, xxiii. n.; of Marsilio of Padua, xxiii. n.; influence of superstition, xxiv.; influence of a higher religion, xxiv.; popular enlightenment its foundation, xxv.; social causes of, xxvii.; influence of physical laws, xxxi.; influence of the grandeur and terrors of nature, xxxiv.; physical conditions of Europe favourable to, xxxv.; its elements wanting in a pastoral state, xxxvi.; and partially wanting in agricultural countries, xxxvi.; influence of mountains, xxxix.; influence of the sea, xl.; of navigable rivers and lakes, xli.; of minerals, xlii.; of cities and towns, xlii.; of race, xliii.; England the historic home of, xlv.; influence of the Protestant Reformation, xlvi.; the subsequent revolutions, xlvii.; constitutional, acquired by revolutionary movements, xlix.; influence of, upon enlightenment, l. and notes; upon science, li.; advantages of union of old institutions with popular franchises, lii. liii. and n.; a safeguard against democracy, lvii.

lviii. [*Democracy, England, Switzerland, &c.*]

Freeholders, a class of, formed at Rome, i. 156; many destroyed by wars, 171; in England, introd. xxxviii.; ii. 349, 353, 360. [*Peasant Proprietors*]

Free-Trade, doctrines of, victorious in England, ii. 466, 467

'French Fury,' the, ii. 57.

French Revolution (1789), its effects in Switzerland, i. 377 *sqq.*; state of parties, ii. 135; concentration of troops at Versailles and Paris, 140; dismissal of Necker, taking of the Bastile, 140; the king at Paris, 140; alarming disorders, 141 and n.; the Constituent Assembly, its deliberations, 141, 142; unregulated proceedings, 142; leading men, 143; renunciation of privileges, 143; hopes of a moderate constitution, 144; parties in the Assembly, 144; the clubs, 148; reaction attempted by the court, 148; banquets of the body guards, 149; march of women on Versailles, 149; the king at Paris, 149; other measures of the Assembly, 150; new constitution proclaimed, 150; foreign aid invoked by the nobles, 151; emigration of the nobles, 151, 152 and n.; confederacy against France, 153; restraints upon the king, 153; flight and arrest of the king, 153, 154; relations of the king to the Revolution, 154; Declaration of Pilnitz, 155; elections for the new Assembly, 155 and n.; National Legislative Assembly, 156; parties in it, 156; its relations with the king, 157; conflict between them, 158; a Girondist ministry, 158; war with Austria, its object, 158, 159, n.; disasters of the war, 159; riotous mob of petitioners, 159, 160; partial reaction, 160; the country declared in danger, 160; manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, 161; insurrection in Paris, attack on the Tuileries (August 10), 161; National Convention convoked, 162; the Commune of Paris, 162; massacres of September 1792, the Reign of Terror begun, 163, 164; military spirit of the nation, 164; abolition of the monarchy, 165; the Girondists, 165, 166; the Mountain, 166; the rival parties, 167; revolutionary propaganda, 168, 169; trial of the king projected by the Mountain, 169; discussions thereupon, 169; the trial, 170, 171; the king condemned, 171; his execution, 172

— The coalition against France, 173; measures of defence, 174; Committee of Public Safety established, 175; strife of parties, 175; the Convention invaded by the mob, 176; arming of the mob, 176; arrest of the Girondists, 176; contact of the Convention with the people, 177; its debates, 177 and n.; its useful measures, 178 and n.; insurrections in the provinces, 178; invasion of France, 179; new constitution, 179; France in arms, 179: revolutionary vigour, 180; men of the revolution, 181; law against suspected persons, 182; triumph of French arms, 183; absolutism of the republic, 183; cruelties of the Mountain, 183; severities against insurgents, 184, 185; execution of Marie Antoinette, 186; of the Girondists, 186; absolute power of the Committee of Public Safety, 186; heroism of the revolution, 187; reformation of the calendar, 187; the Worship of Reason, 187; ascendency of Robespierre, 188; the Committee of Public Safety, 189; a republic of the virtues proclaimed, 190; Robespierre its high priest, 190; increased fury of the tribunal, 190; decline of Robespierre's power, 191; attack upon the Convention, 9 Thermidor, 192; fall of the Triumvirs, execution of Robespierre, 192, 193; reaction, 193; the followers of Robespierre, 194; *jeunesse dorée*, 194; proceedings against the Terrorists, 195; sufferings of the people, 195; insurrections, 196; invasion of the Convention, 1 Prairial, 196; the sections disarmed, 197; France victorious in the wars, 197; royalist reaction, 197; royalist excesses, 198; new constitution, the Directory, 198; royalist insurrection, 199; defence of the Con-

vention by Bonaparte, 199; the two councils elected, end of the Convention, 199 [*France, Geneva, Napoleon Bonaparte, States-General, Swiss Confederation*]

Fribourg, i. 339; its alliance with Berne and other towns, 343; its aristocratic constitution, 352, 353; becomes an oligarchy, 373; insurrection suppressed, 374; heavy contribution levied by the French, 383, 387; revolution of 1830, 388

GAMA, Vasco de, i. 265

Gambetta, M., continues the war against Prussia, ii. 319; leader of the republican party, 332

Game-laws in France, ii. 106

Games, public, in Greece, character and effects of, i. 46, 47, 123, 124

Garde Mobile, the, organised in Paris, ii. 282

Gemblours, battle of [*Netherlands*]

Geneva, its early constitution, i. 354; the reformation in, 367; attains self-government in civil affairs, 367; rule of Calvin, 368; rise of an aristocracy, 374; struggle of classes, 375; intervention of Berne and Zürich, a new constitution, 375; political clubs, 375; a democratic constitution, 376; its liberties crushed by a foreign occupation, 376; effects of the French revolution in, 378; annexed to France, 383; anti-Jesuit revolution, 391; discords allayed, 395; general assemblies of citizens at, 398

Genoa, government of, i. 294; scheme of legislation by jurists, 294; the nobles, 295; the Doge, 295; submission to the lord of Milan, 296

George III. [*England*]

Gérard, assassinates William, Prince of Orange, ii. 58

Germany, European birthplace of Teutonic races, Introd. xlvi.; begins revolt against Church of Rome, xlvi.; imperial and free cities of, i. 250; their representatives in the Diet, 251; their contests with the barons, 251; formation and extent of the Hanseatic League, 252; the Rhenish League, 252; state of, 1830 to 1848, ii. 272; effects of French revolution of February 1848, 276, 277; National Assembly at Frankfort, 277; revolutionary movements, 277

Ghent, rival of Bruges, ii. 15; takes the lead in Flemish politics, 16; the White Hoods of, 18; resists Philip the Good, and is conquered, 22; rebels against Charles V., 29; its punishment, 29; congress of Provincial Estates at, 49; pacification of, 49, 50; capitulates to Prince of Parma, 59 [*Artevelde*, James van, and Philip van]

Girondists, the, ii. 156, 158–162; their ideal, 165, 166, 167; endeavour to save the king from trial, 169, 170; their weakness, 172–174, 175; arrested, 176; executed, 186

Gladiators at Rome, i. 168, n.

Gonfalonier of Justice [*Florence*]

Gracchus, Caius, tribune, 177; introduces practice of distributing corn, 178; alters method of voting of the comitia, 178; his democratic measures, 178, 179; his policy, 179; deference to the people, 180; his overthrow and death, 180, 181; proscription of his party, 181; honours paid to him, 181

Gracchus, Tiberius, tribune, his measures, i. 175; his agrarian law, 176; vengeance of the nobles, 176; his death, 177; honours paid to him, 181

Grammar Schools, foundation of, in England, ii. 361

Granvelle, Cardinal, the real ruler of the Netherlands under Duchess Margaret, ii. 36; his character and aim, 36; driven away, 38

Greece, the Greeks the highest type of European races, i. 41; contrast between them and Eastern nations, 42; influence of climate, 42, n.; mutual confidence between the people and their rulers, 43; royal authority in the heroic ages, 43; relations of the people with the State, 44; public administration of justice, 45; public life characteristic of Greek society, 45; importance

of oratory, 46; the rhapsodists, 46; spirit of freedom promoted by the public games, 46; evil consequences of the games, 47; respect for women, 48; division into small states, 48; its effects, 48; distribution of Hellenic races favourable to their culture, 49; the Amphictyonic council, 49; decay of monarchies, 49; changes of government in the numerous States nearly contemporary, and the result of general causes, 50; a constitution gained, 51; political reaction, the Tyrants, 51; advance of democracy, 52; aristocracy, 52; oligarchy, 52; timocracy, 53; polity, 53; varieties of democracy, 54; ochlocracy, 54; limitation of the ruling class in all democracies, 55; the State formed exclusively of citizens, 55; conflict between aristocracy and democracy, 56, n.; violence and injustice of the contest, 57; difference between agricultural and town populations, 57; between Lacedæmonians and Athenians, 58; maritime and town populations in Attica, 58; Thessaly and other pastoral countries, 58; growth of towns, 59; distribution of lands, 59; smallness of city communities, 59; general type of Greek republic found in the city community, 60, n.; remarkable society of Greek cities, 60; patriotism fostered into a passion, 61; divisions in the assemblies, 61, n.; feuds and jealousies, 61; Macedonian conquest of, 93; period of intellectual and literary decline, 93, n.; the Greek religion, 111; trivial superstitions, 111, 112; decline of paganism, 112; Greek philosophy, 113; Greek religion not repressive of a free spirit, 113; charity not fostered by it, 113; hurtfulness of slavery, 114; Boeckh's view of Greek character, 115, n; Greece compared with modern states, 127; Achaian League, 129; representation unknown in, 130; Greek colonies, 131; Italian liberties promoted by Greek settlers, 132; Greek civilization, 132; Greek language, the vehicle of the Christian faith, 133; differences in the genius of Greeks and Romans, 134, 135; influence of Greek genius over Roman conquerors, 169; early Greek and Teutonic customs compared, 225; Greek and Italian republics compared, 283; independence of modern, ii. 272. [*Athens, Sparta, &c.*]

Grotius, imprisonment of, by Prince Maurice, ii. 72

Guelph and Ghibeline parties, i. 299, 300, 302, 303; their distinctive principles, 303; constant wars and tumults, 303 [*Florence, Italian Republics*]

Gueux, Les [*Netherlands*]

Guilds, Trade, organised in the Netherlands, ii. 8; trained to arms, 8; contribute to early civilization of towns, and promote civil liberties, 13; in Flemish cities, strife among them, 17, 18; position of, in France, 113

Guilds of rhetoric, in the Netherlands, their liberties and political influence, ii. 19

Guizot, M., ii. 238, 241, 242, 243; minister of the interior, 247; member of Soult's ministry, 253; difference with Thiers, 255; member of Molé's ministry, 256; his resignation, 269

Gunpowder changes the art of war, i. 264

Gunpowder Plot, ii. 369

HAMPDEN, John, refuses to pay forced loan and is imprisoned, ii. 376; writ of *habeas corpus* refused, 376; resists illegal exaction of ship-money, 380; the judgment against him annulled by statute, 385; his judges accused before the House of Lords, 389; one of the five members arrested by Charles I., 396, n.

Hannibal, his wars with the Romans, i. 157; threatens Rome, 158; driven out of Italy, 158

Hanseatic League, the, formation and extent of, i. 252; Bruges becomes its central mart, ii. 6

Harlem, siege of, ii. 45

Haussman, M., Prefect of the Seine, his reconstruction of Paris, ii. 315

HEB

Hébert, arrested. ii. 175, 176, 182, n.; overthrown by Robespierre, 189

Helvetic Republic, the, founded, i. 379 [*Swiss Confederation*]

Helvetii, the, defeat the Romans under L. Cassius, i. 335

Henriot, part taken by him in the French Revolution, ii. 182, n.

Henry of Navarre, befriends the Huguenots in France, ii. 60; claims the crown of France, 62; becomes king of France, as Henry IV., 63; conforms to the Catholic faith, 63

Henry VIII. of England, his absolutism, ii. 354, 355; effects the Reformation, 355

High Commission Court, the, its tyrannical proceedings, ii. 369; remonstrance of the Commons against, 371; its cruelty, 380; abolished, 386

Hindus, the, polity of, i. 4; their superstitions, 5; castes, 5; early culture, 6; Sanskrit literature, 6, n.; character of, 9 [*Village Communities*]

Hippias and Hipparchus, tyrants of Athens, i. 70

History, Political, uses of the study of, Introd. xxi.; method of studying, xxii.

Holland, Teutonic settlers in, ii. 3; the Frisians reduced by Charlemagne, 4; obtain the 'Great Privilege' from the Duchess Mary, 23; union of, with Zealand, 48; the union reconstituted at Congress of Delft, 48; the union of Utrecht, 53; wavering allegiance, 54; the government offered to the Prince of Orange and declined, 54, 55; with Zealand, governed by the Prince, 55; declaration of independence, 55; Prince Maurice chosen president of the Executive Council of the States, 59; reduction of the number of provinces, 59; search for foreign alliances, 59; negotiations with France, 60; with England, 60, 61; failure of English expedition, 61; the Spanish Armada, 62; Parma recalled to serve in France, 62; energy and conquests of Prince Maurice, 62, 63; prosperity of the Dutch Republic, 64; its constitution, 65; siege of Ostend, 66; negotiations for peace, 67; an armistice, 67; the twelve years' truce, 68; religious toleration prayed for Catholics, 68; recognition of the Dutch Republic, 68, 69; its significance, 69; union of freedom and commerce, 69; intellectual progress, 70; freedom of opinion, 70; domestic history of the republic, 71; the Stadtholder and Barneveldt, 72; arrest and execution of Barneveldt, 72; wars of the republic, 72, 73; the House of Orange, 73; ties between England and Holland, 74; an alliance desired, but not attained, 74; the English ambassadors at the Hague, 74; war with England, 74, 75; with France, 75; abolition of the Stadtholderate by the 'Perpetual Edict,' 75; murder of the De Witts, 76; William III. of Orange master of the State, 76; after his death, the government resumed by the states-general, 77; William IV. Stadtholder, king in all but name, 77; declining fortunes of the State, 77; war with England, 78; the patriot party overcome by Prussia, 78; patriot refugees in France, 78; they catch the spirit of French democracy, 78, 79; war with France, revolution proclaimed, 1794, 79; the new constitution, 79; a French province, 80; a kingdom under Louis Bonaparte, 80, 217; annexed to French empire, 80, 217; recovers independence, and is united with the Belgian provinces in the new kingdom of the Netherlands, 80; again a separate kingdom, 82 [*Netherlands, Netherlands, Kingdom of, William III.*]

HUN

Holles, Denzil, committed by Charles I., ii. 379; one of the five members arrested by the king, 396

Holy Alliance, the, for repression of European liberties, i. 387, ii. 245 and n.

Horn, Count [*Netherlands*]

Hotham, Sir John, governor of Hull, refuses to admit the king, ii. 390

Huguenots, the, in France, tolerated, ii, 60; expulsion of, 121; the flower of the middle classes, 121

'Hundred Days,' the, ii. 225

HUN

Hungarians, the, invasion of Italy by, i. 274

Hungary, insurrection in, suppressed by Russians, ii. 275; free constitution granted, 275

Hussites, the, struggles of, in Bohemia, i. 266

Hyde Park, meetings in (1866 and 1867), prohibited and held, ii. 467; regulated, 468

INDEPENDENTS, the, rise of, in England, ii. 364; their distrust of Charles I., ii. 393; their republican spirit, the first democratic party, 401; their preachers, 402, 403; exercise the chief power, 404; opposed to a national church, 405; their conflict with the Presbyterians, 406; gain strength in parliament, 409; their separation from the Presbyterians, 415; their character and views, 415; responsible for the trial and execution of the king, 416

India, ignorance of the people, i. 6; tropical climate adverse to their elevation, 7; oppression of industrial classes, 8; influence of physical laws upon temperament, 8; danger from snakes and tigers, 9, n.; English rule favourable to freedom, 13 [*Brahmans, Buddhism, Castes, Hindus, Menu, Village Communities*]

Infidelity, the growth of, Introd. lxi.; in France alone, the ally of democracy and revolution, lxii.; by whom favoured, lxiii.

Inquisition, the, founded by Pope Innocent III., i. 267; its jurisdiction and cruelty, 267; its tyranny over conscience and thought, 268; introduced in the Netherlands by Charles V., ii. 33

Intercourse, free, of nations, its results, Introd. xlviii. xlix.

International Society of Workmen, the, establishment of, Introd. lxviii.; declares war against capital, its journals, lxviii.; congresses held, lxix.; its local sections, and their sentiments, lxix.; declaration at Lyons, lxix. and n.; its leaders promoters of the Paris Commune, 1871, lxx.; not favoured in England, lxx; aims of its offshoot, the Commune of Paris, ii. 322; extends the principles of socialism, 325; its doctrines, 470 and n.

ITA

Ireland, rebellion in, ii. 384; its effect on popular feeling in England, 394; parliamentary union with England effected by Cromwell, 425; the Catholic Association formed, and suppressed, 460; Catholic meetings, 461; Catholic emancipation, 461; Repeal agitation, 463; Orange lodges, 464; the Protestant Church disestablished, 474

Italian republics, general view of their government, 277; their rapid advance in population and prosperity, 279; thought emboldened by liberty, 279; association of culture and freedom, 279; their architecture, 280; practical direction of studies, 280; classical learning, 281; useful arts, agriculture, 281; civic patriotism, 282; dissensions, 282; Greek and Italian republics compared, 283; points of resemblance, 284 and n.; their different conditions, 285; diversities in the character of their society, 285; in the relations of the nobles with the people, 286; disorders in Italian cities, 287; rarity of eloquence, 287; feudalism chief cause of their ruin, 288; chief cities and their allies, 299; first blow to their liberties dealt by Frederick Barbarossa, 300; the Lombard League, 301; the rights of the confederate cities secured by treaty of Constance, 301; election of *podestàs*, 301; ascendency of the nobles, 302; their factious violence, 302; Guelph and Ghibeline parties, 303; the period after the peace of Constance, 303; strife of classes in the cities, 312; the new society overcoming feudalism, 312; *novi homines* in Rome and Italy, 313; mercenary forces employed in cities of Lombardy, 314; the *condottieri*, 314; rule of usurpers, 315; turbulence and ambition of nobles, 315; increased power of the signors, its abuse, 315; the ruin of Italian liberty completed by feuds of Guelph and Ghibeline, 316; family feuds, 316; the tale of Imilda de

Lambertazzi, 316, n.; republican sentiment aroused by revival of classical learning, 317; survival of Venice, 329; review of the republics, 330; comparison of them with despotisms, 331; Italian and Swiss liberties compared, 348, 349, n. [*Florence, Milan, Pisa, Venice, &c.*]

Italy, Greek colonies in, i. 131, 132; geographical advantages of, 135; overthrow of monarchies in, 136; Roman conquest of, 153; various relations of the conquered races to Rome, 154; Roman and Latin colonies, 154; discontent of Italians, 155; effects of conquest of, upon society of Rome, 155; evil results for Italy, 156; enfranchisement of Italian allies, 185; Italian war, 186; municipal government conferred on the towns, 205; Teutonic customs introduced by invaders, 225; benefited by the Crusades, 245; Saracen conquests and arts in, 259; takes the lead in the revival of learning, 262; early rise of cities, 273; their ancient origin, 273; Saracen and Hungarian settlements in, 274; building of city walls, 274; the feudal lords in, 275; weakness of Italian sovereigns, 276; fusion of Northern races with Italians, 276; distribution of lands, 277; growth of republics, 277; social degeneracy under the tyrants, 319; character of the tyrants, 320; tyrannicide, 321; devastation of the land, 329; its subjection to foreign rule, 329; its later fortunes, 331; united and free under Victor Emmanuel, 332; development of local self-government, 332, n.; fortunes of Italy and the Netherlands compared, ii. 30, 31; a kingdom under Napoleon I., 216; state of, between 1830 and 1848, 272; sudden effects of French revolution of February, 1848, 274; war for Italian unity begun by Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, 275; services rendered to, by Louis Napoleon, 312. [*Italian Republics*]

JACOBINS, the, ii. 148, 156, 159, 161; masters of France, 162, 167; their aims, 172, 174, 175, 176; the club closed, 195; socialist doctrines proclaimed by, 324

Jacquerie, the, in France, ii. 88, 89

James I. of England, his character, his views of prerogative, ii. 367; his treatment of the Commons, 367; his treatment of the Puritans, 368; sanctions the illegal canons of Convocation, 368; his relations to religious parties, 369; his toleration of Popish recusants, 369; revives episcopacy in Scotland, 370 [*England*]

James II., his encroachments on liberty, 437, 438; deposed, 438

Japan, its original civilisation, i. 24; absolute power of the Mikado, 24; introduction of European customs, 24; opening of a parliament, 24; problem of free institutions awaiting solution, 25

Jesuits, the, in Switzerland, i. 390 [*Sonderbund*]

Jeunesse dorée, the, ii. 194

Jews, the, example of freedom in an Eastern race, i. 32; description of Palestine, 32; their early institutions, 32; advantages derived from their captivity in Egypt, 33; Moses, 33; their commonwealth a theocratic federal republic, 34; political equality its declared principle, 34, n.; their theocracy a free state, 35; action of the prophets, 35, 36; the monarchy freely adopted, 36; popular power maintained throughout their history, 37; Jewish intellect, 37; their sacred writings, 38; example of association of intelligence and freedom, 38; their influence in promoting civilisation of Europe, 239

John of Bohemia, resisted by Florence, i. 308

Jurists, European, their place in society, their influence, i. 228, 229

KING, ideal of a, in heroic ages of Greece, i. 43; of Rome, 138; altered position of kings after the French Revolution, ii. 222; among the Teutonic races, 341; right of deposing assumed by the parliament of Edward II., 348; of Richard II., 349; of James II., 438

LAC

LACEDÆMONIANS and Athenians, differences between them, i. 58

Lafayette, General, ii. 143; governor of Paris, 145; with Bailly, founds the Feuillants' Club, 148; protects the king, 149; resigns command of National Guard, 156, 160; promotes formation of secret societies, 233, 238; takes command of insurgents of July, 1830, 242; his ambition, 243; outwitted, 244; his death, 254, n.

Lafitte, ii. 242, 243; leader of Orleanists, 244, 247; ministry of, 249

Lamartine, M., takes part in agitation for reform, ii. 267; head of provisional government, 270; proclaims the republic, 271; maintains the tricolor, 283; his firmness, 285; convokes a National Assembly, 286; prevents storming of the Hôtel de Ville, 288; candidate for the presidency, 291

Lamoricière, General, commander of the National Guard, ii. 270

Land, in England, loses its preponderance as a national influence, ii. 452; its relations to trade and manufactures, 453; alliance of, with the Church, 454; their policy threatened, 455

Larissa, a democracy, i. 58

Laud, Archbishop, directs the Church policy of Charles I., ii. 381 and n.; counsels imposition of High Church ritual upon the Scottish Kirk, 382; impeached and sent to the Tower, 387; executed, 400

La Vendée, insurrection in, ii. 175, 178; punished by the Terrorists, 185; insurrection suppressed, 200; attempt of the Duchess of Berri in, 251

League, the, in France, ii. 60, 62

Legion of Honour, the, ii. 213

Legislative Assembly, the [*France, French Revolution*]

Leicester, Earl of, his expedition to the Netherlands, ii. 61

Lepidus, a leader of the Roman democracy, i. 194; member of the second triumvirate, 205

LOU

Levellers, the, ii. 414; their objects, 420 and n.

Leyden, siege of, by the Spaniards, ii. 47; its university, 65

Liberty, civil and religious, first struggles for, i. 267 [*Democracy, Freedom*]

Licinian Laws, i. 148, 149, n.

Liége, resists Philip the Good, ii. 22; pillaged by Charles the Bold, 22 and n.

Livius Drusus, his proposed reforms, i. 184; the laws annulled, 185; assassinated, 185

Loans, forced, levied by Edward IV., ii. 354; Henry VIII., 355; Charles I., 376

Locke, effects of his treatise on civil government, Introd. xlvii. n.

Lollards, the, i. 266; the parents of Puritanism, ii. 350

Lombard League, the, i. 301; treaty of Constance, 301

Lombards, the, in Italy, i. 225

Lords, the House of, ii. 346, 348, 353, n., 358; passes bill of attainder against Strafford, 387; rights of, attacked by the Commons, 390; rejects proposal to deprive bishops of their seats, 394; passes the bill, 397; enters into the Solemn League and Covenant, 400; refuses to concur in appointment of High Court of Justice for trial of Charles I., 413; abolished by the Commons, 419; a second chamber called, which takes the title of the Lords' House, 429; the House reinstated at the Restoration, 436 [*Parliament*]

Lot, choice of rulers by [*Athens, Florence*]

Louis XIV. of France, his wars with the Dutch, ii. 75; abolishes all municipal elections, sells the offices, 91; suppresses provincial assemblies of Normandy, Anjou, &c., 94; the monarchy under him absolute, 95, 96; revokes Edict of Nantes, 96; his court at Versailles, 99; his political failures, 124

Louis XV., abolishes the Parliaments, ii. 95, 125; his reign and policy, 125, 126

Louis XVI., his accession, ii. 127; his character, 127, 172; his difficulties, 128; convokes the States-General, 134; opens the meeting, 136; goes in state, threatens dissolution, 139; visits Paris, 140; removed by force to Paris, 149; accepts the constitution, 150; his flight and arrest, 153, 154; his position, 157; puts on the cap of liberty, 160; sent to the Temple, 162; his trial proposed by the Mountain, 169; his dignified conduct, 170; his defence, 170 and n.; found guilty, 171; his execution, 172 [*France, French Revolution*]

Louis XVIII., ii. 221; restored to the throne, 224; his character, 225; his flight and second restoration, 225; a stranger to France, 227; his first measures, 229; a *coup d'état*, 230; his death, 234

Louis Napoleon [*France, Napoleon, Louis*]

Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, becomes king of France, ii. 244; abdicates, 270 [*France*]

Louis of Nassau seizes Mons, ii. 45; his defeat and death, 47

Loyalty in France, decay of, ii. 227; of the English, 476, 477; effect of freedom upon, 477; associated with patriotism, 478; to George III., to George IV., 478; to William IV., 479; to Queen Victoria, 479; illustrated during the illness and recovery of the Prince of Wales, 479, 480

Lucerne, its charters confirmed by Rudolph of Hapsburg, i. 342; its aristocratic constitution, 352; peasant war in, 371; an oligarchy, 376; revolution of 1830, 388; the Jesuits admitted to control education, 390; twice invaded by the *franc-corps*, 391; originates the Sonderbund, 391; popular acts in, 399

Lunéville, treaty of, i. 383

Luther, leader of the Protestant Reformation, i. 269; his policy, 270

Lycurgus, institutions of, i. 63; a social leveller, 65

Lyons, the revolt and punishment of, ii. 184; royalist excesses at, 198; insurrection suppressed by Marshal Soult, 251

Lysander reduces Athens, i. 90; overthrows the democratic constitution, 91

MACMAHON, Marshal, overthrows the Commune and takes Paris, ii. 328; President of the Republic, 331; the Septennate, 332; dismisses M. Jules Simon and republican ministry, 332

Maestricht sacked by the Spaniards, ii. 49; taken by the Prince of Parma, 53

Magna Charta [*England*]

Manners, influence of climate on, i. 244, n.

Manufactures, conducive to political liberty, Introd. xlii.; great development of, and political influence in England, ii. 452, 453

Marat, ii. 163, 164, 166, 176, 178; his socialist principles, 324

Marcel, Stephen, his career, ii. 89

Margaret, duchess of Parma [*Netherlands*]

Marie Antoinette, queen of France, her execution, ii. 186

Marignano, battle of, i. 347

Mariner's compass, the, i. 265

Marius, seven times consul, 182; his victories, 182; disbands his army, 183; leader of democratic party, 183; his policy and popular measures, 183; the Apuleian laws, 183; his submission to the senate, 184; appointed commander of Eastern expedition, 187; defeated by Sulla, 187; joins Cinna and takes Rome, 188; his proscriptions, 188; consul with Cinna, death, 189

Marseilles, under the Reign of Terror, ii. 185; royalist excesses at, 198, 229; attempt of the Duchess of Berri at, 251

Marsilio of Padua, his political views, Introd. xxiii. n.

Mary, duchess of Burgundy [*Netherlands*]

Match Tax, the, proposed by English

MAU

government, resisted by the match-makers, and abandoned, ii. 468

Maupas, M. de, made Prefect of Police by Louis Napoleon, ii. 300

Maurice, Prince, chosen president of the executive council of the States-General of Holland, ii. 59; reorganizes and takes command of the army, 62, 63; takes Breda and other towns, 63; opposes Barneveldt's peace policy, 68; his hatred of Barneveldt, violation of the constitution, 72

Maximilian, archduke of Austria [*Bruges, Netherlands*]

Medici, Salvestro de', chosen gonfalonier of Florence, i. 310

—, Julian de', assassinated, i. 323

—, Lorenzo de', escapes assassination by the Pazzi, i. 323; supremacy in Florence, and his munificence, 326; his alliance with the King of Naples, 327

—, Cosmo de', banished from Florence by Rinaldo, last of the Albizzi, i. 324; expels the Albizzi and becomes ruler of Florence, 324; his personal ascendency, his power masked under popular forms, 325

—, Peter de', succeeds Cosmo as ruler of Florence, i. 326; overcomes his rival Lucas Pitti, 326

—, Peter de', succeeds Lorenzo, and is expelled from Florence, i. 327

—, Alexander de', nominated ruler of Florence by Pope Clement VII., i. 328; assassinated, 329

Mencius, doctrines of, i. 16, 17

Menu, ancient laws of, i. 3, 4

Metternich, Prince, his flight from Vienna, ii. 275

Middle class, how far qualified for political rule, Introd. lv. n.; effect of its union with the nobles, lv. and n.; defenders of property and order against excesses of democracy, lxiv.; absence of a, in China, i. 22; in Rome, 170; consequences of its absence, 172, 217; holds entire power of the State in the Dutch Republic, ii. 66; in France, represented by the *bourgeoisie*, 112; reliance of Louis Philippe on it,

MOR

248; its rise to power in England, 360; education of, provided for by Grammar Schools of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, 361; its increasing influence in England, 451

Milan, its antiquity, pre-eminence in war, i. 296; supremacy in Lombardy, 296; resists the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, 300; the citizens banished, the walls razed, 300; rebuilt by the Lombard League, 301; expels the nobles, 302; falls under the dominion of the Visconti, 315; assassination of the duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, 322; fate of the three conspirators, 322; drives away the Austrians, ii. 274

Millenarians, the, their aims, ii. 421 and n.

Milton, his ideal of spiritual liberty, ii. 431 and n.

Minerals, influence of discovery of, upon political development, Introd. xlii.; in England, ii. 337, 453

Mirabeau, ii. 139, 143; warns the king of danger, 149, 150, n.

Moderation, religious, prevalence of, Introd. lx. lxi.; toleration the fruit of its union with freedom, lxi.

Molé, Count, his ministry, ii. 256; member of National Assembly, 289

Monarchies, characteristics of, Introd. liv. [*Greece, Italy, &c.*]

Monasteries, their literary services, i. 254; indifference of the monks to classical learning, 255

Monk, General, dissolves the Long Parliament, ii. 433; assembles a new one, 434; his caution, 434

Monopolies, in England, abolished, ii. 373

Moors, the [*Saracens*]

Moreau, ii. 200

Morgarten, victory of the Swiss over Leopold, duke of Austria, at, i. 344

Morny, Count de, made minister of the interior by Louis Napoleon, ii. 300

Moses, i. 33; his theocratic federal republic, 34

Mountain, the, French revolutionary party, ii. 157; rivals of the Girondists, 166, 167; project trial of the king, 168, 169; their clamour against him, 171 and n.; their triumph, 173; the law against suspected persons, 182; their cruelties, 183 [*French Revolution*]

Mountains, their influence upon society and freedom, Introd. xxxix; hinder agriculture and commerce, xxxix.; characteristics of mountain races, xl. [*Switzerland*]

Municipia, their various relations to Rome, i. 154

Murat, made king of Naples, ii. 217

Music, church, of the Revival, its character, i. 263, 264

NANTES, the *noyades* of, ii. 185, 186

Naples, threatened insurrection in, ii. 274

Napoleon Bonaparte, his conquest of Venice, i. 330; conquest of Italy, 331; system of government and administration, 332; takes military occupation of Switzerland, 384; appoints a commission on its future government, 384; his Act of Mediation, 385; takes Toulon, ii. 185; defends the Convention, 199; commands army of Italy, 201; expedition to Egypt, 203; returns, 206; his relations with Sieyès, 206; the *coup d'état*, 18 Brumaire, 206; First Consul, 209; his rule, 211; attempt to assassinate him, 211; re-establishes the Catholic church, 212; first consul for life, emperor, 213; crowned by Pope Pius VII., 214; has no faith in the revolution, 215; his military ambition, 216; named 'The Great,' 216; his domination over Europe, 217; divorced from Josephine, 217; marries Marie Louise of Austria, 218; birth of the King of Rome, 218; decline of his fortunes, 218, 219; abdication, Elba, 220; his return, 225; Waterloo, 225; his remains removed from St. Helena to the Invalides, 259

Napoleon, Louis, contributes to unity of Italy, i. 332; his attempt at Strasburg, ii. 256; his book, *Les Idées Napoléoniennes*, 259; his descent on Boulogne, 260; imprisoned at Ham, 260; his escape, 264; member of National Assembly, 289 and n.; chosen president of the republic, 291; his ambition, 292 and n.; his popularity with the army, 296; proposes extension of the suffrage, 298; his speech to officers of the army, 298; distrusted by the Assembly, 298; prepares the *coup d'état*, 300; his confederates, 300; executes the *coup d'état*, 301; accepts imperial crown as Napoleon III., 308; marries Eugénie de Montijo, 309; his warlike ambition and failures, 312, 313; appoints a liberal ministry, 316; goes to war with Prussia, 317; captured with his army at Sedan, deposed, 317; deposition of him and his dynasty voted by National Assembly at Bordeaux, 321; his death, 330 [*France*]

Naseby, battle of, ii. 404

National Assembly [*France, French Revolution*]

National Convention [*French Revolution*]

National Guard, of France, disbanded by Charles X., ii. 237; fights against his troops, 241; defection of, February 1848, 269; supports the Commune, 322

Nature, influence of its grandeur and terrors on freedom, Introd. xxxiv.; its terrors dispelled by religion, xxxv.

Navigation Act, English, passed to injure Dutch commerce, ii. 74 and n.

Necker, M., ii. 130; his *compte rendu*, 131; recalled, 134; dismissed and banished, 140; recalled, 141

Netherlands, the, twofold illustration of democracy in history of, ii. 1; character of the country, 1, 2; Dutch sailors, 2; early races of, 3; their early history, 4; feudalism and the church, 4; decline of feudalism, growth of cities, 5; development of commerce, 6; of manufactures and the industrial

arts, 6; population of the great cities in the fourteenth century, 7; early constitution of the towns, 7, 8; the trade guilds, 8; the burgomaster and the baron, 9; local disadvantages of the barons, 9; the country ill-suited for defence, 10; character of the burghers, 10, 11, 12 and n.; influence of trade guilds, 13; jealousies of rival cities, 13; the nobles as citizens, 14; military prowess of the towns, 15; confederation of towns, 15; Ghent and James van Artevelde, 16; the Flemings take part with Edward III. in war with France, 16; Philip van Artevelde, 17; guilds of the Flemish cities, 17, 18; factions, 18; improved culture, 19; Guilds of Rhetoric, 19; painters and architects, 20; the cities represented in the Estates, 20; characteristics of freedom, 20; changes of dynasty, 21; increasing power of the sovereigns, 21; House of Burgundy, 21; tyranny of Charles the Bold, 22; the 'Great Privilege,' 23; becomes a considerable State, 23; constitution of the Estates, 23; becomes, by the marriage of the Duchess Mary with Archduke Maximilian, an inheritance of the House of Hapsburg, 24; the charters annulled, 24; death of the Princess Mary, rebellion against the archduke, 24; invaded by the emperor, 25; Philip the Fair, by his marriage with Johanna of Spain, brings the country under rule of Charles V., 25; character of his rule, 28; new taxation, 28; rebellion of Ghent, its punishment, 29; liberties of, in abeyance, 30; fortunes of Italy and the Netherlands compared, 30, 31; impending struggle for religious liberty, 31

— Persecution of Protestants by Charles V., 33; the Inquisition introduced, 33; Philip II. of Spain, 35; the persecution continued, 35; demands and remonstrances of the Estates, 35; regency of Duchess Margaret of Parma, 35; Cardinal Granvelle, 36; confronted by William, Prince of Orange, 36; rapid spread of the Reformation, 37; severities of Philip, 38; opposition of Counts Egmont and Horn, 38; efforts of nobles and people, 39; confederacy of *Les Gueux*, 39; a mission to Philip, 39; fate of the envoys, 39, n.; continued barbarities, 39; the Iconoclasts, 40; mission of Duke of Alva with a Spanish army, 40; dissolution of the confederacy of nobles, 40; Counts Egmont and Horn executed, 41; Alva's Council of Blood, its proceedings and its victims, 41; a reign of terror, 41; Alva made governor, 42; all the inhabitants condemned to death by the Inquisition, the decree confirmed by Philip, 42; efforts of the Prince of Orange, 43; failure of the first campaign, 43; continued oppression, 44; a mock amnesty proclaimed, 44; outbreak of the great revolt, 45; congress of Dort, 45; the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 45; retirement of Orange to Holland, 45; retirement of Alva, 46; Don Luis de Requesens governor, 46; another mock amnesty, 46; siege of Leyden, 47; fruitless negotiations for peace at Breda, 47; allegiance to Philip renounced, 48; congress of Delft, 48; foreign aid withheld, 48; mutiny of Spanish troops, 49; congress of Provincial Estates at Ghent, 49; the 'Spanish Fury,' 49; pacification of Ghent, 49, 50; Don John of Austria, governor, his concessions, 50; ascendency of Prince of Orange, 51; new Union of Brussels, 51, 52; defeat of the Dutch at Gemblours, 52; death of Don John, appointment of the Prince of Parma, 52; defection of the five Walloon provinces, 53; the Union of Utrecht, 53; divided sovereignty, 55; the Duke of Anjou, 55, 56; treason of Anjou, the 'French Fury,' 56, 57; assassination of the Prince of Orange, 58; Parma called to serve in France, 62; decline of Spanish power, 63; sovereignty of Spanish provinces abdicated by Philip II., and given to the Infanta Isabella and Archduke Albert, 64; state of the Spanish provinces, 65, 70; their constitution, 71; united with Holland to form new kingdom of the Netherlands, 80; continued freedom of, 83 [*Belgium, Holland*].

Netherlands, kingdom of the, constituted, ii. 80; constitutional monarchy established in house of Orange, under William V., 80; causes of estrangement of Holland and Belgium, 81; insurrection in Belgium, 1830, 82; separation of Holland and Belgium, 82

Neufchâtel joins the Swiss Confederation, i. 386

Newport, the treaty of, ii. 411

Newspaper stamp, in England, abolished, ii. 456

Ney, Marshal, the trial of, ii. 229 and n.

Nonconformists, modern, Introd. lxi.; the firmest supporters of political liberties, lxii.; rise of, in England, ii. 364; persecuted by James I., 368 [*Puritans*]

Normans, the, their origin and civilisation, ii. 344; their conquest of England, 344

OCHLOCRACY, i. 54

O'Connell, Mr., leader of the Repeal agitation, ii. 463

Octavius (Augustus), member of second triumvirate, i. 205; heir of Cæsar, secures the empire at Actium, 206; consolidation of his power, 206

Ogulnian Laws, the, i. 149, n.

Olgiati, takes part in the assassination of the Duke of Milan, i. 322; his punishment, 322

Oligarchy, i. 52; established at Athens by Peisander, 88; overthrown, 89; at Rome, a military, 193, 194

Omar Khayyám, Persian poet, i. 15, n.

Opinion, public, a dominating force in every State, Introd. lvi.; most powerful in free States, lvi.; its organs in England, lvi., n.; its uses in the government of a State, lviii.; its force in England, ii. 456

Orange, the House of, William, Prince of Orange, 36–58; marriage of William II. with the Princess Royal of England, ii. 73; his arrest of deputies, attempt on Amsterdam and death, 73; exclusion of the family from the Stadtholderate, 74, 75; constitutional monarchy of the Netherlands established in the family, 80 [*Holland, Netherlands, The, William of Nassau, William III.*]

Orange societies, formed by Protestants, ii. 460; suppressed, 460, 464

Oratory, its services to the Greeks, i. 46; study of, at Athens, 102; a fine art, 103; at Rome, 162; of advocates, 163; flourishes only in free States, 164; limited freedom of, under the Roman empire, 219; Teutonic, 224; rarity of, in Italian republics, 287; power of, compared with books, ii. 148, n.

Orgetorix, Helvetian chief, i. 335

Orleans, Duke of (Egalité), ii. 129, 143, 147 and n.; executed, 186; Louis Philippe becomes king of the French, 244

Orleans, Duchess of, with her sons, appears in the Chamber of Deputies, ii. 270

Ostend, the siege of, ii. 66

Ostracism, introduced at Athens by Cleisthenes, i. 72; its principle indefensible, 72; comparison with impeachment and attainder, 73 Aristotle's views of it, 73; Plutarch's, 72, 73, nn.

PADILLA, Don Juan de [*Castile, Toledo*]

Paganism, decline of, in Greece, i. 112; opinion of Polybius, 112; decline of, in Rome, 170

Pamphlets, political, multitude of, under the Commonwealth, ii. 435, 436

Paper, invention of, i. 265, n.

Paper duty, in England, abolished, ii. 456

Papists. [*Church of Rome*]

Paris, rebellion in, ii. 90; the parliament of, 95; concentration of power in, 97, 98; the parliament exiled to Troyes, 133; arrest of two of its members, 133; concentration of troops on, 140; condition of the city, 145; its government and people, 145, 146; attempts

to maintain order, 147; the clubs, 148; the Commune, 162; advance of the Prussians towards, 163; insurrection in, 241; another, 251; declared in a state of siege, 252; fortifications constructed, 261; military occupation of, 268; insurrection, Feb. 1848, 269; returns six Socialist candidates to the Assembly, 295; declared in a state of siege by Louis Napoleon, 302; massacre on the Boulevards, 304; reconstruction of, by Napoleon III., 315; capitulates to the Germans, 320; entered by German troops, 321; insurrection of the Commune, 321. 322; siege of, begun by authorities at Versailles, 323; the city burnt by the Communists, 328 [*France, French Revolution, '89*]

Parliament, the English, originated in the Saxon witenagemót, ii. 343 and n.; the Commons first represented in it, 347; its increasing power under Edward I., 348; assumes right of deposing the king (Edward II.), and again (Richard II.), 348, 349; assumes its present form under Edward III., 348; its right to advise the king in matters of peace and war established, 348; its privileges defined, 349; dominated by the barons, 353; rarely assembled under Edward IV., 354; its influence revived under Richard III., set aside under Henry VII., 354; subservient to Henry VIII., 355, 356; under Mary undoes its own work, 357; reasserts itself under Elizabeth, 358; and under James I.; dissolutions of, by James I., 371; not assembled for six years, 372; new, dissolved, 372; the great struggle between prerogative and popular power begun by the Long Parliament, 385; the Triennial Bill passed, 385; proposal for annual meeting of, 386, n.; assumes extraordinary powers, 388; appointment of committees, 388, 389; proceeds against delinquents, 388 and n., 389; passes ordinances without assent of the king, 389, 390; its revolutionary spirit, 390; intolerant of petitions, 391; committees on grievances, 391; popular leaders supported by mobs, 392 and n.; Act against dissolution passed, 392; attempts at accommodation with the king, 393; supported by the city of London, 394; the Puritan party, 395, 396; divided counsels, 399, 400; the extreme party in power, 400; enters into the Solemn League and Covenant. 400; its severities against delinquents, 406; its conflict with the army, 406; overcome by Cromwell, 407; resolves to receive no further communications from the king, 409; fresh negotiations opened by Presbyterian party, 411; opposed by the army, 411; 'Pride's Purge,' 412; the remnant devoted to Cromwell, 412; dissolved by him, 423; Barebone's Parliament nominated, 423; and dissolved, 424; a new one meets, and is dissolved, 425; another called, 427; exclusion of a hundred members, 428; a second Chamber, 429; revival of the Long Parliament (the Rump), 432, 433; its dissolution by General Monk, 433; subservience of, under James II., 437; power of, to depose a king, recognised by the revolution of 1688, 439 and n.; its authority enlarged under William III., 440; electoral corruption, 442; publication of the debates, 448 and 455 [*Charles I., Commons, Lords*]

Parliament, the Short, the Long [*England*]

Parliaments, the, of France, ii. 94; claim a veto upon acts of the Crown, 94; their contumacy overcome by a *lit de justice*, and banishment, 94, 95; form a barrier against arbitrary power, 95; their numbers and jurisdiction, 95 and n.; abolished, 95, 125; recalled, 128; superseded, 150

Parma, the Prince of, governor of the Netherlands, ii. 52; succeeds in detaching the Walloon provinces from the Union, 53; takes and severely punishes Maestricht, 53; attempts to seduce the Prince of Orange, 53; called to serve in France, 62; his death, 63

Parthenon, the, i. 83

Pastoral States, wanting in elements of freedom, Introd. xxxvi.

Patricians, the [*Rome*]

PAY

Payment for public services, introduced at Athens by Pericles, i. 81; consummation of scheme of democracy, 82; a system of State bribery, 120

Pazzi, The [*Florence*]

Peasant proprietors, classes and political character of, Introd. xxxviii.; effect of small holdings, xxxviii.; in France, ii. 105; in England, ii. 349, 353, 360

Peasant war, the, in Switzerland, i. 370, 371

Peasants, poverty of the, in France, before the Revolution, ii. 106

Peerage, hereditary, in France, abolished, ii. 150; restored by Napoleon Bonaparte, 216; Chamber of Peers reconstructed by Louis XVIII. and made hereditary, 229; abolished under Louis Philippe, 250

Peisander, his plot against Athenian democracy, i. 88; supported by the clubs, 88; assassinations, 88; sets up new Council of Four Hundred, 89; his constitution overthrown, 89

Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens, i. 70

Peloponnesian War, the, its result, i. 90

Pericles, his reforms at Athens, i. 74, 86; strips the Areopagus of its powers, 75; vests administration of justice in the dicasteries, 75; introduces payment for military services, 80; for service in the judicature, 81; for attendance at the assembly, 81; promotes public works, 83; completes fortifications, builds the Parthenon, 83; establishes the *Theoricon*, 84; his policy as a statesman, 85; its evil results, 86; favours commerce, 86; his funeral oration quoted, 98; true type of a Greek leader, 99; government by the first citizen, 99, n. [*Athens*]

Périer, Casimir, ii. 241, 247; ministry of, 249; his death, 253

Persecution, religious, a political crime, ii. 33; a new form of tyranny, 34

Persia, absolute government in, i. 14; castes, 14, n.; administration by satraps, 14; primeval religion, 14,

PIL

n.; condition of the people, 15; literature, 15

Persigny, confederate of Louis Napoleon in the *coup d'état*, ii. 300

Petition, the right of, in England, first asserted, ii. 391; restricted by the Commons before the civil war, 391

Petition of Right, the, made law, ii. 377

Philip II. of Spain, becomes sovereign of the Netherlands, ii. 35; continues the persecution of Protestants, 35; his secret agreement with Henry II. of France, 36; his severities, directs torture of Flemish Protestants, 38; sends Alva with a Spanish army, 40; by proclamation directs immediate execution of sentence of the Inquisition against inhabitants of the Netherlands, 42; insists that the Catholic faith be restored in the Netherlands, 47; publishes civil excommunication of the Prince of Orange, 54; forms alliance with the French League, 60; seizes British ships, plans invasion of England, 61; the Spanish Armada dispersed, 62; attempts conquest of France, 62; makes peace with Henry IV., 63; abdicates sovereignty of the Netherlands, 64; his death, 64

Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, sovereign of Flanders and Brabant, ii. 21

Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, extends his dominion in the Netherlands, ii. 21; conquers and punishes Ghent, 22

Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Netherlands, ii. 25; his marriage with Johanna of Spain, 25

Philip of Cleves, commands the Flemings in war against the emperor, ii. 25

Phœnicians, the, commerce and culture of, i. 29; federation of cities, 29; little known of their institutions, 30

Pichegru, ii. 200; president of the Council of Five Hundred, 201; arrested, 202

Pilnitz, the Declaration of, ii. 155

Pisa, i. 293

Pius VII., Pope, crowns Napoleon I. emperor, ii. 214; deposed by Napoleon, 217

Pius IX., Pope, grants a representative constitution to the Roman States, ii. 274; compelled to declare war against Austria, 274

Plain, the, French political party, ii. 167

Plebeians, the [*Rome*]

Plébiscite, the, introduced in France, ii. 210, n.; after the *coup d'état*, 306, 307; the second empire established by, 308

Pnyx, the, at Athens, i. 89, n.

Polignac, the Prince de, his ministry, ii. 238; his trial and condemnation, 249

Political associations in England, originated, ii. 457; repressed, 458; their growing force, 458; influence of, compared with the press, 458; dangers of vast assemblages, 459; later examples, 460–469

Polity, a form of government, i. 53

Pompey, Cneius, one of the chiefs of the oligarchy, i. 193, 194; joins the democracy, 195; commander in the East, 195; returns to Italy, 196; allies himself with Cæsar, 197; his quarrel with Clodius, 199; triumvir, proconsul in Spain, 200; dictator, 201; rivalry with Cæsar, 201; defeated at Pharsalus, slain in Egypt, 202

Popes of Rome, the [*Rome*]

Presbyterians, the, rise of, in England, ii. 364; their republican spirit, 364; the Scottish Kirk founded by the people, 370 and n.; a High Church ritual forced on the Kirk by Charles I., 382; they rebel, 382, 384; their distrust of Charles I., 393; in Scotland recover their old forms, 395; lose their ascendency by the Self-denying Ordinance, 403; their generals superseded, 403; their polity introduced in England, 405; conflict with the Independents, 406; open fresh negotiations with the king, 411; excluded from parliament by 'Pride's Purge,' 412; their separation from the Independents, 415; the ministers ejected from their livings at the Restoration, 436

Press, the, its growing influence in England, ii. 444; political education promoted by publication of the debates in parliament, 455; freedom of, established, 456; a democratic force in the monarchy, 457; the services of cheap literature, 457; influence of, compared with political associations, 458 [*Censorship*]

Printing, invention of, i. 265

Proscription, at Athens, by the Thirty Tyrants, i. 91; at Rome, by Sulla, 187; by Marius, 188; an established instrument of parties, 188; by Sulla, 190; by the triumvirs, 205

Protestants, the [*Orange Societies, Reformation*]

Protectorate, the [*Cromwell*, Oliver, and Richard]

Proudhon, Socialist, member of provisional government of France, arrested, ii. 289; member of the Assembly, 289

Provincial Government, Roman, introduced after conquest of Sicily, i. 157; consequences of, 166; impunity of governors, 174; appointment of judicial committee to hear complaints, 174

Prussia, the king signs the Declaration of Pilnitz, ii. 154; joins with Austria in war against France, 161; revolution in, 1848, 277

Publilian Laws, the, i. 149, n.

Punic Wars, the, i. 157

Puritans, the modern, less austere, Introd. lxi.; the early Puritans maintainers of public liberties, lxii.; founders of American republic, lxii.; compared with the Stoics, i. 160, 161; followers of Calvin, ii. 362; their character, 363; different sects of, 364; their political views, 364; their jealousy of Catholics and the grounds for it, 365; confront Elizabeth, 365; treatment of, by James I., 368, 370; provocation of, by High Church prelates, 378; persecution

of, 381; their despair and emigration, 382; inflamed by religious grievances, 394; growth of their influence, 395; revolutionary spirit sustained, 395; representatives of democracy, 395, n.; aim at overthrow of episcopacy, 396; their ministers ejected from their livings under Act of Uniformity, 436; severe laws against them, 436 [*Presbyterians, Independents*]

Pym, committed by James I., ii. 372; one of the five members arrested by Charles I., 396

RACE, influence of, upon social and political development, Introd. xliii.; varieties of mankind, xliii. and notes; the Teutons and the Celts contrasted, xliv., xlv.; distinctive characters of early races traceable in their descendants, xlv.

Red Republicans, the [*France*]

Referendum, the [*Swiss Confederation*]

Reform, parliamentary, in France, agitation for, ii. 258; becomes the foremost question, 262; proposals in the Chamber, 263; resistance to, 263, 264; agitation revived, 266; banquets, 266, 267; in England, Cromwell's Act, 425; agitation for, 462; the Reform Acts of 1832 passed, 462; of 1867 and 1868, 473; Ballot Act of 1872, 473 [*France*]

Reform League, the, its procession of Trades' Unions, ii. 471 [*Hyde Park*]

Reformation, the Protestant, i. 269; its effects upon freedom, Introd. xlvi. i. 269; prevails among Teutonic races, 269; political views of the reformers, 270; forms the commencement of a revolutionary period, 272; in Switzerland, 366; in Geneva, 367; its moral effects, 368; its political results, 369; social improvements, 369; hostility of Charles V. to it, ii. 32; its extent, strength in Germany, 32; persecution of Protestants in the Netherlands, 33; toleration of Protestants secured by diet of Augsburg, 34, n.; the 'French League' against the Protestants, 60; in Hungary and Austria, freedom of worship granted to Protestants by the emperor, 69; in England, effected by Henry VIII., 355; its course, 357 [*Calvin*, *Swiss Confederation*]

Regicide, in England, ii. 414; the religious character of the regicides, 415; the French regicides, 415, 416 [*Tyrannicide*]

Reign of Terror, the [*French Revolution*]

Religion, the ally of freedom, Introd. xxiv.

Remonstrance, the Grand, to Charles I. voted by the Commons, ii. 394

Repeal of the Union, agitation for, in Ireland, ii. 463; agitation revived, monster meetings, 463; their failure, 464

Representation, need of, at Athens, i. 110; unknown in Greece, 130; approximations to, 130; reserved for modern times, 131; principle of, involved in the scheme of Caius Gracchus, 179; Roman senate made a representative body, 191; need of, at Rome, 215; principle of the *referendum* in Swiss cantons inconsistent with, 400; in Spanish kingdoms, ii. 26; adopted in the Netherlands, 52; under William III., a fiction, 442

Requesens, Don Luis de [*Netherlands*]

Reviews, the *Edinburgh*, *Quarterly*, and *Westminster*, their services to political education, ii. 455, n.

Revival of learning, the, character of, i. 262; Italy foremost in, 262; its emancipation of the intellect, 262; its services to religion, its church music, 263; revival of original thought, 264

Revival, ecclesiastical, in Church of Rome, Introd. lix. lx.; in Church of England, lx.

Revolution, the Glorious, of 1688 [*England*]

Revolutionary movements, rapid spread of, in Europe, Introd. xlix.; ii. 244, 274

Rhenish League, the, i. 252; its alliance with the cities of Swabia, 252

Richelieu, overthrows feudalism in France, ii. 87; attempts to abolish provincial assemblies, 94

Rienzi, i. 317; as tribune of the people, revives the Roman republic, 318

Robespierre, ii. 143, 165, 166, 176; his ascendency, 188; a fanatic, 189; highpriest of the republic of the virtues, 190; decline of his power, 191; his fall, 192; execution, 192, 193

Rollin, Ledru, his schemes resisted by Lamartine, ii. 286; candidate for the presidency, 291

Romans, the, in Britain [*England*]

Rome, differences in the genius of Greeks and Romans, i. 134, 135; institutions of the monarchy, 136; the public domains, 137; classification of citizens, 138; its basis, property, 138; the national religion, 138, 139, n.; consuls, constitution of the republic, 139 and n.; the priesthood, 140; the senate, its constitution and extensive powers, 141, 142; patrician character of the republic, 143; public virtues of the patricians, 143; their ascendency, 144; frequent assassination of citizens, 144; haughty bearing of patricians towards plebeians, 145; tactics of delay, 145, n.; growth of democracy, 146; secession to the *Mons Sacer*, new constitution, 147; tribunes of the people, 147; privileges acquired for the plebeians, 147; laws of the Twelve Tables, 148; further advance of plebeian privileges, 148; consulate opened to plebeians, 148; and other high offices, 149; canvassing forbidden, 149; union of the senate with old plebeians, 150; checks upon the comitia, 151; Mænian laws, 151; extension of popular suffrage, 151; redress of grievances by Licinian and other laws, 152; fusion of the old and new aristocracy, 152; struggle of classes, 153; conquest of Italy, 153; various forms of government established, 154; colonies, 154; patrician influence maintained, 155; effects of Italian conquest upon society of Rome, 155; progressive condition of the republic, 156; the Punic Wars, 157; disasters, courage and constancy, 158; Roman virtues, 158, 159, n.; Rome a religion to the people, 158, n.; influence of the Stoic philosophy, 159; Roman Stoics and English Puritans compared, 160; faults of Roman character, 161; public life in, compared with Athens, 162; courts of justice, advocates, 163

— Effects of conquests upon the republic, 165; political reaction of the patricians, 165; consequences of standing armies, and of provincial rule, 166; becomes capital of an empire, 167; social changes, the class of clients, 167; the populace, 167; growth of corruption, 168; public amusements, 168, orderly government disturbed by factions and tumults, 168; Cato the Censor, 169; increase of luxury, 169; Greek arts and refinements, 169; decline of paganism, 170; want of a middle class, 170; the public domains cultivated by slaves, 171; agrarian discontents, 172; dependence and corruption of the poor, 172; relations of debtor and creditor, 173; demoralization of slavery, 173; resistance to abuses, 174; impunity of provincial governors, 174; undue influence of the nobles, the ballot, 174; appeals to the populace, 174; measures of Tiberius Gracchus, tribune, 175; his agrarian law, 175; his death, 177; beginning of anarchy, 177; Caius Gracchus, tribune, 177; his measures, 177, 178, 179; his death, 180; the memory of the Gracchi, 181; patrician advances to the people, 181; danger of military dictation, 182; Marius, 182; Apuleian laws, 183; popular election of Pontifex Maximus, 183; recovery of power by the senate, 184; reforms proposed by Livius Drusus, 184; enfranchisement of Italian allies, 185; Italian war, state of Rome after the war, 186; reforms of P. Sulpicius Rufus, 186; Sulla master of Rome, 187; pro-

scription, and reactionary policy, 187; his policy reversed by Cinna, 187; civil war, the city taken by Marius and Cinna, 188; proscriptions, 188; Cinna and Marius consuls, 189; dictatorship of Sulla, 189; proscriptions, 190; reactionary measures, the senate recruited, 190; *novi homines*, 191; other measures of Sulla, 192; a military oligarchy, 193; its chiefs, 193; chiefs of the democracy, 194; Pompey, 194; ascendency of the oligarchy, 194; Pompey and the democracy, 195; overthrow of the constitution of Sulla, 195; Cæsar, Crassus, and Cicero bid for popularity, 195; conspiracy of Catiline, 196; Cato the younger, 196

— Alliance of Cæsar and Pompey, 197; Cæsar's popular measures, 198; his military commands, 198; victories, 199; anarchy in the city, 199; triumvirate of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, 200; the patrician party, 201; dictatorship of Pompey, 201; rivalry of Pompey and Cæsar, 201; Cæsar master of Rome, 202; the usurper slain, 205; anarchy, 205; battle of Philippi, 205; battle of Actium, 206; under Octavius, 206; consolidation of his power, 206; transition from the republic to the empire, 207; growth of a bureaucracy, 208; organisation of a standing army, 208; imperial taxation, 208; homage paid by emperors to freedom, 209; causes of the fall of the republic, 209; defects of the government, 210; never a pure democracy, 210; conflicts of judicature, 211; irregular forces of democracy, 211; its share in the fall of the republic, 212; anarchy repressed by the sword, 213; faults in institutions, 213; position of the senate, 213; irregular action of the comitia, 214; need of representation, 215; attributes of the senate, 215; concentra[illegible] powers originally d[illegible] of a di[illegible] [illegible]uses [illegible] [illegible]ation under the empire, 218; domination of the army, 218; intellectual development of Augustan age, 219; freedom of thought under the empire, 219; demoralisation of Romans, 220; influence of traditions of Rome upon civilisation of Europe, 227, 228; its political condition in the twelfth century, 317; revival of the republic by Arnold of Brescia, 317; removal of the popes to Avignon, the consequent anarchy, 318; strife of the Colonna and Orsini, 318; revolution of Rienzi, 318; government of the bannerets, 318; return of the popes, 319; their tyranny, 319

Roncaglia, Diet of, i. 300

Rouen, rebellion at, ii. 90

Roundheads, the, their character as soldiers, ii. 404

Rousseau, his philosophy, the apostle of social reconstruction, ii. 118

Rudolph of Hapsburg, confirms the charters of Swiss towns, i. 342

Rump, the [*Parliament, The English*]

Russia, social changes progressing in, Introd. xlvii.

ST. ARNAUD, General, minister of war to Louis Napoleon, ii. 298

St. Just, ii. 169, 181, 184, 189

San Marino, smallest of Italian republics, i. 330

Saracens, the, civilisation of, i. 257; the schools of Bagdad, 257; their culture introduced into Europe, 258; its limited influence, 258; in Italy, 259, 274

Savonarola [*Florence*]

Savoy, the Duke of, his office of vidome of Geneva abolished, i. 367

Schaffhausen, its charters confirmed by Rudolph of Hapsburg, i. 342; its mixed constitution, 354; domination of the towns, 387

Schoolmen, the, how far favourable to liberty, i. 240, n.; their studies and services, 260

Schweitz, its contest with abbot of Einsidlen, i. 339; one of the Forest Cantons, 343 [*Switzerland*]

Scotland, rebellion in, under Charles I., ii. 382; peace of Berwick, renewed disorders, 383; rebellion renewed,

384; secret treaty concluded by Charles I. with the Scots, 410; Scottish invasion of England, 410; the Prince of Wales proclaimed king in, 422; parliamentary union with England effected by Cromwell, 425; democratic movement in, 450

Sea, the, its influence upon freedom, Introd. xl.; i. 58, 71

Sedan, the battle of, ii. 317

Selden, committed by Charles I., ii. 379

Sempach, victory of the Swiss over Leopold III., Duke of Austria, at, i. 344; decree of, 344

Senate, the, of Rome, its constitution and powers, i. 141; directed entire policy of the State, 142; its high character, 142; Comte's view of it, and Cicero's, 142, n.; alliance with old plebeians, 150; deprived of *veto* upon *plebiscita*, 150; loss of respect and power, 182, 183; recovery of power, 184; number increased by Sulla, 187; loss of power under Marius and Cinna, proscription of senators, 188, 189; recruited by Sulla, 190; becomes a *quasi* representative body, 191; enlarged by Cæsar, deprived of independent power, 204; its decline under the Empire, 207; its position of antagonism to the tribunes and comitia, 213; its attributes, 215

Serfdom, in France, cessation of, ii. 105; in England, conflicts consequent on its diminution, 351

Sforza, Galeazzo Maria [*Milan*]

— Ludovico, betrayal of, to the French, i. 365 and n.

Ship-money, illegal exaction of, ii. 380; resisted by Hampden, 380; condemned as illegal, 385

Sicily, conquest of, by Rome, i. 157; revolt in, ii. 274

Sieyès, Abbé, ii. 143, 205–209; his constitution, 210

Signoria, the [*Florence*]

Simon de Montfort, author of representation of the Commons in Parliament, ii. 347

Six Acts, the, passed, ii. 451

Slavery, among the Greeks, at Athens, i. 114; in Rome, 173; servile wars, 173

Socialists, the, in France, ii. 248, 257; their increasing power, 283; form a provisional government which is immediately overthrown, 289; insurrection of June 1848, suppressed by Cavaignac, 290; early traces of Socialism, 323; its doctrines proclaimed by the Jacobins, 324; popularised by Rousseau, 324; partially carried out in the Revolution of 1789, 324; and in Revolution of 1848, 325; first in the ascendent in Paris Commune, 325 [*Communists, International Society*]

Socrates, his teachings and his death, i. 105

Soleure, its charters confirmed by Rudolph of Hapsburg, i. 342; its aristocratic constitution, 353; peasant war in, 371; in alliance with Berne, 376; heavy contribution levied by the French, 383; domination of the towns, 387

Solon, constitution of, i. 67, 69

Sonderbund, the, league of seven Catholic cantons of Switzerland, formed, i. 391; overthrown by army of the Confederation, 392

Sophists, the, at Athens, i. 102

Soult, Marshal, suppresses insurrections at Lyons and Paris, ii. 251; ministry of, 253; second ministry, 256; third, 261

Spain, introduction of Saracen culture, i. 258; early liberties of, ii. 26; power of the cities, 26, 27; decay of liberties, 27; state of, from 1830 to 1848, 272; English negotiations with, for marriage of Prince Charles, 373

'Spanish Fury,' the, ii. 49

Spanish marriages, the, intrigues concerning, ii. 265

Sparta, its peculiar constitution, i. 62; council of Ephors, 62; silence and secrecy characteristics of her rule, 63; constitution commended, 63 n.; narrow polity, 63, 64; stability of her institutions, 64; cost of stability, 64; democratic insti-

tutions, 64; Lycurgus a social leveller, 65; sumptuary laws, 65; severity of training, 65; war their chief business, 66; contrasted with Athens, 66; her oligarchical influence, 88; her supremacy, 92; her share in great victories of the Greeks, 96; compared with Venice, 293

Spartacus, revolt of, i. 194

Stadtholderate, the [*Holland, William III.* of Orange]

Stantz, Convention of [*Swiss Confederation*]

Star Chamber, the Court of, its tyranny and severity, ii. 380; abolished, 385

States-General, the, of France, first convention of, by Philip the Fair, ii. 92; method of their deliberations, 92; convoked and dismissed at will of the crown, 93; discontinued, 93; convocation of, demanded, 133; convoked by Louis XVI., 134; hazard of the experiment, 134; the *cahiers*, 135 and n.; composition of the assembly, 135, 136; meeting of, 136; sittings of the Estates, 137; the Commons declare themselves 'the National Assembly,' 138; threatened with dissolution by the king, 139; union of the orders, 139 [*France, French Revolution, Tiers Etat*]

Stoic philosophy, influence of, upon Roman character, i. 160; Stoics and Puritans compared, 160

Strafford, the Earl of, directs the policy of Charles I., ii. 381; lord-deputy of Ireland, 384; impeached and sent to the Tower, 387; bill of attainder passed, 387; executed, 387

Strode, committed by Charles I., ii. 379; one of the five members arrested by the king, 396

Stuarts, the, accession of, to the English throne, ii. 366; their maintenance of prerogative, 366, 367 [*Charles I., James I., James II.*]

Succession duty, i. 208, n.

Sulla, L. Corn., opposes reforms of P. Sulpicius Rufus, i. 186; superseded in command by Marius, defeats him, 187; proscription, reactionary policy, 187; his policy reversed by Cinna, 187; his return and capture of Rome, 189; dictator, 189; proscriptions, 190; his reactionary measures, 190; recruits the senate, 190; his other measures, 192; retires, 193; his constitution overthrown, 195

Sulpicius Rufus, P., his reforms, i. 186; slain by Sulla, 187

Sumptuary laws, at Sparta, i. 65; at Rome, 204

Superstition, the ally of despotism, Introd. xxiv.

Supremacy, royal, established by Henry VIII., ii. 355

Swiss Confederation, the, established, i. 344; its victory at Sempach, 344; consolidated, early in the fifteenth century, 345; other alliances, 345; defects in the constitution, 346; wars of rival cantons, 346; civil war averted by convention of Stantz, 346, 347; victories over Charles the Bold and the Emperor Maximilian I., 347; national independence secured, 347; league of thirteen cantons completed by union of Basle and Schaffhausen, 347; battle of Marignano, 'perpetual peace' with France, 347; Italian and Swiss liberties compared, 348, 349; its fortunes compared with other States, 349, 350; constitutions of the cantons, 350; their original type outgrown in the larger cantons, 350; democratic organisation of the army, 351; influence of the nobles, 351; the aristocratic cantons, Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, 351, 352, 353; rule of the nobles, 353; mixed constitutions, Zürich, Basle, and Schaffhausen, 353, 354; democratic cantons, the Forest cantons, Zug, Glarus, Appenzell, 355; constitution of the Grisons, 355; causes of the diversity of constitutions, 356; democracy of the rural cantons, 356; peculiar conditions of these cantons, 357; their democracy conservative, 357, 358; principles of the confederation, 358; the diets, 358; special diets, 359; provisions of the 'Defensional,' 359; defects of the confederation, 360; political state of

Switzerland early in the sixteenth century, 360
— Social changes, military service, 361; Swiss condottieri, 362; Swiss mercenary troops, 362, 363 and n.; evil consequences of mercenary service, 363 and n., 364 and n.; other forms of corruption, 365 and n.; religious discords, 365; discussions consequent on the Reformation, 366; divisions among the cantons, 366; defensive alliance of Protestant cantons, alliance of Catholic cantons with Archduke of Austria, 366; the Borromean League, 367; war of Toggenburg, 370; peace of Aargau, 370; peasant war, 370, 371; increasing prosperity, 371; virtues of the Swiss, 372; relations of Switzerland to Germany and France, 372; independence of the Confederation, declared by treaty of Westphalia, 373; ascendency of France, 373; party of the nobles favoured by Louis XIV., 373; the commercial cantons, 376, 377; democratic cantons, 377; effects of the French Revolution, 377 *et seq.*; revolutionary troubles, French conquest, 379; the Confederation dissolved, the Helvetic Republic founded, 379; division of the country into departments, the constitution, 380; resistance of the rural cantons, 380; victory of the French, 381; renewed resistance of Schweitz, Uri, Unterwalden, and Zug, 382; obstinate bravery of Unterwalden and Schweitz, 382; repugnance to French democracy, 382; the new constitution forced on the people, French oppression, 383; overthrow of the new constitution, anarchy and civil war, 383; provisions of the treaty of Lunéville, 383; military occupation of Switzerland by Napoleon, 384; the federal union revived by his Act of Mediation, 385; the Federal Pact; Geneva, Neufchâtel, and the Valais added to the Confederation, 386
— Prosperity after the peace, 386; continued political reaction, 387; revolutions of 1830, 388; their general aim, 389; new constitution proposed, 390; troubles in the cantons, 390; the convents of Aargau suppressed, 390; increasing influence of the Jesuits, 390; the Sonderbund formed, 391; overthrown by federal army, 392 scheme of a new constitution, 392; constitution of 1848, 392, 393, 394; its democratic basis, 394; its principal objects, 394; government of the cantons since 1848, 394, 395; political condition of the country, 395; difficulties of federal union, 396; intellectual character of the Swiss, 397; great names, 397; doctrine of the sovereignty of the people urged, 398; distrust of delegates, 399; principles of the *referendum*, 399; their inconsistency with representation, 400; jealousy of the central government, 401; amendment of the federal constitution, 401, 402; permanence of the Swiss Republic, 402 [*Reformation, the Protestant*]

Switzerland, examples of pure democracy in, i. 333; its natural features, 333; the Alps, 334; varieties of its climate, 335; results of its geographical features, 335; early independence of the Swiss, 335; their invasion of Gaul, 336; they become subjects of the Roman empire, 336; overrun by Northern races, 336; under the Franks, 336; growth of feudalism, 336; power and strife of barons and churchmen, 337; growth of municipal privileges, 337, 338; formation of the cantons, 338; given as a fief by the emperor to dukes of Zœringen, 338; the towns favoured by princes, 338; establishment of small republics, 339; rural cantons, Schweitz, Uri, Unterwalden, 339; beginnings of confederation, the Forest cantons, 340 and n.; democracy in the Forest cantons, 340; its unchanging type, 341; its conservative character, 342; freedom of the towns, confirmation of their charters by Rudolph of Hapsburg, 342; first written league of the Forest cantons, 343; struggles for freedom, encroachments of the Emperor Albert, 343; victory of the Swiss at Morgarten, 344; league of the eight cantons, the Swiss Confederation, 344; French expe-

dition to, the Helvetic Republic, ii. 204. [*Swiss Confederation*]

Sycophants, the, at Athens, i. 122

TAILLE, the, in France, ii. 103
Talleyrand, ii. 143

Tallien, ii. 163; at Bordeaux, 185

Teutonic races, the freest people of antiquity, Introd. xliv.; their rude freedom, their customs, i. 224, n.; carry their customs into Italy, 225; comparison of Greek and Teutonic customs, 225; no despotic monarchy among them, 226; settlers in Holland, ii. 3; their aversion to town life, 336; their laws and customs introduced in Britain, 341

Thebes, supremacy of, i. 92

Themistocles, i. 83, 95, 99

Theocracy, the Jewish, a free state, i. 35

Theoricon, at Athens, established by Pericles, i. 84; evil effects of, 123, 124; restored by Agyrrhius, 124; made the most important branch of the finances by Eubulus, 125; mischievous consequences, 125

Thessaly, its warlike oligarchies, i. 58

Thiers, M., ii. 238; signs protest against ordinances of Charles X., 241; recommends the Duke of Orleans for the throne, 243; a member of the ministry of Soult, 253; first minister, 255; leader of the opposition, 257; leader of agitation for reform, 258; again first minister, 259; his sudden fall, 260; proposes fortification of Paris, 261; foremost in agitation for reform, 266; his third ministry, with Barrot, 269; orders withdrawal of troops from streets of Paris, 270; resigns, 270; member of National Assembly, 289; his efforts for peace between France and Prussia, 319; appointed head of the executive, 320; his house demolished by the Commune, 328; President of the Republic, 329; his resignation, 330 [*France*]

Thirty Tyrants, the, rule of, at Athens, i 91; deposed, 92

Thirty Years' War, the, ii. 72 and n.

Thrasybulus, deposes the Thirty Tyrants of Athens, i. 92; restores democracy, 92

Tiers État, the, first, summoned to the States-General, ii. 92; ceases to be recognised as an estate of the realm, 93; the question as to voting of its deputies, 134; assumes to be the National Assembly, 138; excluded from the hall, 138; the oath in the racket-court, 139; joined by majority of the clergy, 139; defies the king's authority, and refuses to leave the hall, 139; its ascendency assured by union of the orders [*French Revolution*]

Timocracy, i. 53; Solon's, 68; Roman, 138

Tinville, Fouquier, ii. 191; executed, 193

Toggenburg, War of [*Swiss Confederation*]

Toledo, member of the holy *junta* against Charles V., ii. 27; defence of, by the widow of Padilla, 27

Toleration, of William, Prince of Orange, ii. 44; a wise scheme of, unknown to the sixteenth century, 369; Cromwell's, limited, 431; Milton's ideal in advance of his age, 431

Tonnage and poundage, refused by the parliament of Charles I., ii. 375; remonstrance of the Commons against levying the duties, 378; the king determines to collect them, 378 [*England, Charles I.*]

Tory party, the, in England, profession of Liberal principles by, after the Revolution, ii. 444; recovers its strength after the Reform Act of 1832, 475; repeatedly in power, 475

Toulon, vengeance of the revolutionists on, ii. 185

Towns, their population inclined to democracy, Introd. xlii.; growth of, in Greece, i. 59; privileges of, in Europe, 227; feudalism ruinous to, 227; revival of, 247; their struggle against the barons, 247; their political influence, 248; society of towns and feudalism contrasted, 249; confederation of, in the Netherlands, ii. 15; represented in the Estates, 20; their political

power in Spain, 26; play unimportant part in politics of France, 91; municipal elections abolished by Louis XIV., 91; sales of municipal franchises, 91; burdens of, in France, 109; aversion of the Teutonic races to, 336; Roman, in Britain, 338 and n.; growth of, in England, 452

Trades Unions, in England, their objects, ii. 470; processions and meetings, 470, 471; organisation of, 471; use of, for political agitation, 471 and n.; their dangers, 472; method of meeting them, 472

Trent, the Council of, its canons proclaimed by Philip II. in the Netherlands, ii. 39

Tribunes of the people elected, their powers, i. 147; their *veto* upon *plebiscita*, 150, 151; convoke the *comitia tributa*, 151; moderate the proceedings of senate and people, 152; admitted to full privileges of the senate, 153; their powers circumscribed, 192

Tricolor, the, abolished by Louis XVIII., ii. 225; restored by Louis Philippe, 244

Triennial Bill, the, passed by the Long Parliament, ii. 385

Triumvirate, at Rome, the first, i. 200; the second, 205

Turgot, his reforms, ii. 128; his opponents and fall, 129

Turkey, a true Eastern State, i. 28; the Turks not naturalised in Europe, 28; characteristics of their rule, 28; a contrast to European States, 28, 29

Twelve Tables, Laws of the, i. 148

Tyrannicide, in Italy, i. 321; honours paid to it, 323 [*Regicide*]

Tyrants, the, in Greece, i. 51; in Italy, 320

ULTRAMONTANISM, in Belgium, ii. 82; its conflict with the Liberal party, 82, 83

Union of Brussels, New, ii. 51, 52

Union of Utrecht, ii. 53

Universities, the rise and results of, in Europe, i. 254; in England, ii. 350

Unterwalden, one of the Forest Cantons, i. 340, 343 [*Switzerland*]

Uri, one of the Forest Cantons, i. 343 [*Switzerland*]

Utrecht, expels its bishop and nobles, ii. 14; resists unjust taxation by Alva and is cruelly punished, 44 [*Union of Utrecht*]

VALENTINE, Mr., committed by Charles I., ii. 379

Venice, her antiquity, i. 288; her early history, municipal constitution, 289; the Doge, 289; St. Mark, her patron saint, 290; her extended relations with other States, 290; her wars; 290; union with Genoa and Pisa in the Crusades, 290; head of confederation of free cities, 291; her aristocracy, 291; government, 291; the Great Council, 291; the senate, the Council of Ten, 292; merits and defects of the aristocracy, 292; compared with Sparta, 293; under an oligarchy, 323; survives other republics of Italy, 329; falls under power of Napoleon Bonaparte, 330; subsequent history, 330; throws off yoke of Austria, proclaims a provisional government, ii. 274

Versailles, peace of, ii. 320; confirmed by the National Assembly, 321

Village communities, in India, original design and character of, i. 9, 10, nn.; their constitution, 11; their principles not democratic, 11; resemblance to Teutonic institutions in Europe, 12, n., and ii. 342 and n.; principles of self-government in, i. 12; in China, 20

Villiers, Mr. Charles, advocates repeal of the corn laws, ii. 464

Visconti, the, masters of Milan, i. 315

Voltaire, his influence, character and aims, ii. 117

WALDENSES, the, i. 266
War, civilisation advanced by, Introd. xlix. and n.

Wat Tyler, his insurrection, ii. 532

Wesley and Whitefield, the spiritual movement originated by them, ii. 454

Westphalia, treaty of, i. 373 [*Swiss Confederation*]

Whig party, the, of the revolution of 1688, ii. 442, 443

William the Conqueror [*England*]

William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, account of him, ii. 36; his resolution to counteract secret agreement of Philip II. and Henry II. to extirpate heresy, 37; called the 'Silent,' 37, n.; his toleration, 37; opposes Granvelle and the Inquisition, 38; stands alone, goes into exile, 40; outlawed and his property confiscated, 42; prepares to do battle with Philip, 43; the first campaign, 43; commanded by the Emperor Maximilian to lay down his arms, 43; becomes a Protestant, 43; his toleration, 44; proclaimed stadtholder, 45; close of the campaign, he retires to Holland, and continues the war there, 45; his activity, 46; ruler of the United Provinces, 48; proof against seduction by Don John, 50; his strength in the middle classes, 51; recovers his ascendency, 51; intrigue of the nobles against him, 51; gets the New Union of Brussels adopted, 51; forms the Union of Utrecht, 53; proof against seduction by Prince of Parma, 53; civil excommunication pronounced against him by Philip II., 54; his 'Apology,' 54; declines offer of the government, 54, 55; his motives, 55; accepts temporary government of Holland and Zealand, 55; attempt to assassinate him, 56; made Count of Holland, 56; his liberal policy, 56; again refuses the government, 57; attempts on his life, 57; assassinated by Gérard, 58; the apostle of civil and religious liberty, 58 [*Holland, Netherlands, The*]

William III., Prince of Orange, his birth, ii. 73; himself and his descendants excluded from the stadtholderate, on demand of Cromwell, 74, 75; conditionally appointed captain-general, 75; the stadtholderate declared hereditary in him and his descendants, 76; marries Princess Mary of England, ascends the English throne, 76

Window Tax, the, i. 208, n.

Witenagemót, the, ii, 342, 343

Women, respect for, among the Greeks, i. 48

Worcester, the battle of, ii. 422

Workshops, national, opened in France, ii. 282; closed by Cavaignac, 291; virtually established by Napoleon III., 316

Wycliffe, lays the foundations of the Protestant Reformation, ii. 350

ZÜRICH, a municipal republic, i. 342; alliance of, with Schweitz and Uri, 343; its mixed constitution, 353, 354; intervenes against the burghers of Geneva, 375; again, 376; revolution at, 379; domination of the towns, 387; revolution of 1830, 388; expulsion of the Jesuits, 390

Zwingli, Ulrich, reformer of Switzerland, i. 365

CORRIGENDA.

VOL. I.

Page	96, *n. et seq.*	*for*	Boeck	*read*	Boeckh.
,,	142, *n.*	,,	Politique	,,	Positive.
,,	272, *n.*	,,	but	,,	début.
,,	291, *l.* 28	,,	Prégardi	,,	Prégadi.
,,	303, *l.* 9	,,	South	,,	North.
,,	307, *l.* 8	,,	Cherchi	,,	Cerchi.
,,	322, *l.* 30	,,	Des Pazze	,,	Pazzi.
,,	390, *l.* 17	,,	Argau	,,	Aargau.

VOL. II.

Page	5, *n.*	*for*	Unis	*read*	Unies.
,,	62, *l.* 32	,,	Barneveld	,,	Barneveldt
,,	72, *n.* 2	,,	Henry IV.	,,	The king.
,,	106, *n.* 1	,,	Boulanvilliers	,,	Boulainvilliers.
,,	126, *n.* 2	,,	Marten	,,	Martin.
,,	148, *n.* 1, *l.* 3	,,	la	,,	le.
,,	153, *l.* 5	,,	Austria	,,	Germany.
,,	161, *l.* 3	,,	Austria	,,	Germany.
,,	178, *n.* 1	,,	Cambacères	,,	Cambacérès.
,,	178, *n.* 1	,,	Thibaudau	,,	Thibaudeau.
,,	180, *n.*	,,	Caubon	,,	Cambon.
,,	191, *l.* 7	,,	Thinville	,,	Tinville.
,,	193, *l.* 27	,,	president	,,	prosecutor.
,,	193, *l.* 27	,,	Thinville	,,	Tinville.
,,	214, *n.*	,,	Théodore	,,	Théodose.
,,	225, *l.* 21	,,	oubliés	,,	oublié.
,,	228, *n.* 1	,,	parties	,,	partis.
,,	234, *l.* 24	,,	1823	,,	1824.
,,	246, *n.*	,,	Duvernier	,,	Duvergier.
,,	256, *l.* 15	,,	five	,,	three.
,,	266, *l.* 23	,,	Odillon	,,	Odilon.
,,	272, *l.* 28	,,	1822	,,	1823.
,,	275, *l.* 19	,,	Francis John	,,	Francis Joseph.
,,	280, *n.*	,,	Ib.	,,	Id.
,,	285, *n.*	,,	investé	,,	investi.
,,	290, *l.* 27	,,	Affré	,,	Affre.
,,	292, *n.* 2, *dele* pas				
,,	299, *n.* 2	,,	November 1852	,,	December 1851.
,,	309, *l.* 11	,,	Montego	,,	Montijo.
,,	319, *n.*	,,	1850	,,	1870.
,,	437, *Marg. note*	,,	1678	,,	1670.
,,	438, *n.*	,,	438, 439	,,	348, 349.

Spottiswoode & Co., Printers, New street Square and Parliament Street.

00031037

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018